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Ethnicity and National Integration in Nepal:
A Statement of the Problem

Prayag Raj Sharma
CNAS/TU

Ethnic issues have come to be regarded as one of the most pressing problems facing the many countries of the world in modern times. They concern basically with the question of relationship between diverse groups of people characterised by a distinct race, culture and religion living within the political boundaries of a state. The notion of distinction, apart from being evident in some of the objective and tangible facts, is strongly present far more in the perception of the groups about themselves or in the opinion of others who hold them to be different. The state of relationship between various groups and categories of people varies in each country depending upon such variables as its historicity, political process and the many socio-economic configuration in it. This relationship ranges from a relatively harmonious form to one of antagonism and open hostility of a conflictual type. Thus the status enjoyed by different groups and social categories with respect to their various social, political, economic and demographic rights in different countries varies widely. So, its problems, too, assume different colour and pitches in their political overtones, accordingly.

The criteria for distinction between human aggregates can be multiple, viz., racial, cultural, linguistic, religious and regional. This is not necessarily a new awareness of the more recent times only, but one that has existed in the minds and thoughts of the people even in the ancient societies. But, in the past, such distinction is not known to have been the prime cause of any overt political violence, nor of an internecine war between two groups of people. More usually, the stress on distinction would lead to a cultural introversion, but in the more neutral and secular domains of life, such groups would not refrain from making intimate contacts.

Nowadays, ethnic issues have acquired a new sensitiveness as never before and, hence, a new urgency can be seen to solve them. Ethnic issues shape up no little from the kind of popular politics we have come to pursue and practise in our times, the politics of ballot box, elections, popular representations, political parties, etc. All these are new political values which have replaced the old form of polity of the more traditional type everywhere. Even the dictatorial regimes of various hues and pretensions, while they may seek to curtail the civil rights of the people, cannot shut their eyes completely to the needs of modernisation and launching of plans for the economic development of their country. This involves ushering in new sets of ideas and new values and a call for participation by people in the manner as they had never done

before. Demands for a greater share in the political power and economic resources by such unequal groups increase. Even if these may be dumb and backward groups in terms of their political articulateness, regimes have felt obliged to give them some form of representation in deference to changing political ideas of public governance in the modern world. Such things have enabled these people to define their group consciousness better and given them a little voice against neglect and discrimination of older forms. In an extreme form, actions over such demands have even led to a call for secession and complete political independence by such groups, the instances of which can be found in the countries of South Asia itself.

Like many countries of Asia, Nepal, too, is, culturally and ethnically-speaking, a multi-ethnic and a pluralistic society. The predominant group in Nepal today, both in numerical and political terms, is that of the Hindus, with the smaller ethnic groups of various sizes and geographical provenance forming its minorities. The co-existence of Hindus with the various cultural groups in the hills and the Tarai of Nepal for centuries did not pass without certain forms of social exchanges including the incidences of intermarriages taking place between them, of course. The blood intermixture is most evident on the facial constructs of the many caste groups of Nepal including some of its high castes, where they have pronounced Mongolian features. Notwithstanding this fact, however, a general belief ascribes the Hindus here to be racially, of a Caucasoid origin and culturally-speaking, of Aryan extraction from India. In the same way, most ethnic minority groups of Nepal are said to be of a palaeo-Mongolian stock speaking dialects of the Tibeto-Burman language family. The latter, at least some of them, are believed to have come to Nepal earlier than the Hindus, some from the north, and others from the east. The exact number of such ethnic minorities in Nepal has not been specified in official terms. In fact, the census of Nepal does not allow counting of people on the basis of their castes or ethnicity. It is part of an official policy. The reason for this may lie in the fact that the government fears that this will give rise to divisive feelings and drive a wedge in the minds of the people on the basis of their caste or ethnic grouping. The census report at present recognises merely the existence of the linguistic minorities, but even in this regard it carries many flaws in the counting process. In fact, a lukewarm attitude is known to exist in the official circles towards the minority languages. There was already a predominant role historically played by the Nepali language in Nepal, and the need to accord the smaller languages also a meaningful place in the national life in the changed context of the new times is slow to dawn. Some of the more developed minority languages, which can boast of a fair amount of literature in them, have begun raising voices for recognition. These are only likely to grow in volume and pitch in the coming years. An ostrich-like attitude adopted towards these languages may not be a helpful solution for ever.

Thus, although we do not know the exact number of the languages spoken in Nepal, nor a reliable number of their speakers, still linguists working in Nepal have calculated about forty principal minority languages, most of them of the Tibeto-Burman family. Some of the smaller languages

have already gone extinct within the last fifty years, their few remaining speakers having been absorbed into the nearest majority language speakers. Nonetheless, the more prominent linguistic groups have managed to survive, and their speakers whose number is not inconsiderable, have revived their ethnic awareness in the recent times centering around any pertinent issue. Recently, David Gellner has published a searching paper on Newar identity problem centering on many cultural issues, mainly their language (Gellner: 1986).

Some of these still extant linguistic groups today are the Gurung, the Magar, the Rai, the Limbu, the Thakali, the Sherpa, the Tharu, the Raji and the Raute (Bista: 1972). What would be the apt term to call these peoples by in Nepal? Scholars have preferred to use all sorts of terms to describe such cultural-linguistic categories in which there is no unanimity of opinion. Three most commonly used terms are 'tribe', 'nation' and 'ethnic group'. According to Mercier, these three terms can be used interchangeably (Mercier: 1965). However, in the more recent usage, 'tribe' has acquired a more restricted application being generally understood to describe the various aggregates of Black Africa (Essien-Udom: 1975). 'Tribe' and its derivative 'tribalism' is also understood by some people in a pejorative sense implying 'a parochial irrational allegiance towards one's group'. But more widely, a 'tribe' is said to indicate a smaller group based on descent with their social structure consisting of 'families, clans and other kinship groups' (Andreski: 1968). A greater obscurity shrouds the definition of 'nation' to a people, and we don't propose to discuss it here at any length, since we think that it has not even a remote application to any minority group in Nepal. We should, therefore, be considering the definition of the 'ethnic group' next. Andreski's definition of the term 'ethny' or 'ethnies' seems once again to fit in the Nepali situation. According to him, it describes 'a social aggregate exhibiting a certain uniformity of culture but not organised for collective action, where the feeling of collective solidarity is rudimentary, and where there is no will for political unification and independence (or preservation thereof)' (Andreski: 1968). The ethnic awareness of these groups is of a cultural and not of a political kind in Nepal. The Hindu majority, on the other hand, is content to see the ethnic aspirations subordinated by the more overriding concern for national integration. Nepal's unification in the 18th century and the birth of the modern nation-state of Nepal ever since then was done largely with the initiative of a Hindu king. The traditional attitude of the Hindus towards the diversity of people, by and large, has been not to view them as 'foreign' or 'alien' elements, but as part of their intrinsic social order. This historical solution to the problem of cultural diversity has led all these groups to be recognised as equivalent to 'castes' within the Hindu four-fold Varna framework, that is, within a given hierarchy (Höfer: 1979). This perhaps continues to dominate the outlook of the Hindus of Nepal even now since there is such tardiness, at least in the administrative policy, in recognising the aspirations of these peoples in the changed context. One would like to hope and believe that ethnic problem will never reach a pitch to threaten the prevailing social harmony in Nepal, even though one might say that harmony has been largely maintained through the social

order laid down by the Hindus mainly. This historical legacy, however needs to be readjusted and reappreciated in a more modern context, I believe. The reminder to the existence of such a problem came during the year of referendum in 1979-80, during an atmosphere of freer political expression. Posters voicing ethnic feelings and anger were spilled on the walls of Kathmandu exhorting all the people of 'Mongol jati' to shake off the domination of the 'Hindus', which indicates that although such things may not be expressed always, they do, nevertheless, simmer beneath the surface.

Nepal's minorities do not merely consist of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic groups, however. In fact, Hindus themselves would form into several regional and linguistic groups, which also, according to Gulliver, can be the basis to make up a separate group of people (Gulliver: 1969). This, too, can become a division of the ethnic type in the event of a problem or a political rift arising, in which case its ramifications could be similar. First, we have the Nepali-speaking Hindus of the hills, who have been in control of Nepali politics at least for the last two hundred years. Unlike the many ethnic groups mentioned above, they are not tied to any single specific region of Nepal, and barring the extreme northern parts, can be seen settled everywhere. Historically, however, their origin had been in the hills of western Nepal in the 12th-14th century. Next, there are Newar Hindus who may form about half the population of the Newars in Nepal. That itself constitutes about 5% of Nepal's total of 14 million population in the census of 1981. The Newars speak Newari, a distinct language of their own, which is quite a different language from Nepali. They are an ancient people, 'the heroes and builders' of historical Nepal, and a people who are proud of their rich cultural heritage of two thousand years. Thirdly, we have Hindus whose history in Nepal is more recent. They are Hindus of the Tarai who are further divisible into three groups according to their languages mainly, namely, the Maithili, the Bhojpuri and the Awadhi-speaking groups. People of the Tarai have been less involved in the process that created the state of Nepal, but in the more contemporary context they made no small contribution in the nation building process. Regional and linguistic identity has, however, remained strong among the Hindus of the Tarai and the process of their social and emotional integration has been very slow. In the contemporary politics, the need to accord them a due representation in the various organs of the government and civil service has been a well-acknowledged practice. The demand for a greater quota of representation in all these things and in others, and also in the allocation of resources in an increasing amount to the Tarai may rise in future. This revolves around the question of according Hindi a recognition as the language of the Tarai. The Nepalese government recognises speakers only of the three Tarai languages, i.e., Maithili, Bhojpuri and Awadhi and bars use of Hindi for any official purpose. In pursuit of this policy, it withdrew radio broadcast of news in Hindi from Radio Nepal in 1965. People in the Tarai, because of their closer cultural and linguistic links with people in India, are suspect in the views of the people of the hills to be leaning more towards India in their loyalty (Gaige: 1975). This mistrust has a disquieting potential for future, the evidence of which can be had from the kind of

reaction the Gurung Report on International Migration evoked just some time ago. This can develop into a conflictual situation which may be sparked off by the issue over language, land or citizenship rights.

The old economic relations of production and control of resources, by and large, have even now remained unchanged in Nepal. They still continue to be rooted in some of the feudalistic values. Still, measures at modernisation and development of Nepal's economy have not passed without some consequent social changes. New economic classes have come to be formed as a result of this. There is a sizable increase in the number of middle class people taking up specialised professions. One can also see some new trading classes emerging. It is true all this change is happening lying in a few urban centres only. But still, this change has not been able to make much dent on the question of resolving the ethnic identity of the people. If anything, the ethnic consciousness of people has gotten stronger in the present times. Its instance is provided by the Newars. As the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley they have benefitted maximum from the development that Kathmandu as the capital of Nepal is able to enjoy. But this has not diminished their strong ethnic consciousness in all these years. In fact, the Newars today are more conscious of it and have become more strident in their demands for according their language a greater recognition. The increasing tempo in which they have begun to celebrate their *bhintuna* (Newar New Year's Day celebration) clearly illustrates this.

In a society such as Nepal's, its various social segments called by their respective caste names (*jat* or *jati* in Nepali) are generally understood to form part of a single social and cultural order. Whatever the wisdom or otherwise of this arrangement in the past, the old hierarchy of caste based on status has been terminated, at least in a legal sense, in Nepal following the promulgation of the new *Muluki Ain* of 1963. In the anthropological works written mainly by the westerners on Nepal, Brahmans have been depicted and identified as a class of exploiters in relation to the ethnic groups (Caplan: 1970). They, too, are thus, perhaps unwittingly, being given an ethnic identity of their own. If this style is to prevail, their might emerge several caste groups trying to mark out their social boundaries very much along the ethnic lines and considering themselves to be quite apart from the rest. The Thakuri-Chhetri might be another people inclined to judge themselves quite apart from the other Parbatiya groups. The low and untouchable castes of the pre-1963 *Muluki Ain* years may be said to have even more a legitimate ground as an exploited and still being exploited class of people to forge a new identity of their own. The electoral politics has placed a new sense of power among these people in the rural settlements where the high-caste runners in election are obliged to woo and win them by using persuasion and other more tangible means to get their votes (Caplan, P.: 1971). These are all, no doubt, circumstances fraught with divisive tendencies capable of inducing new tensions.

In the preceding lines, we tried to outline some of the broad patterns of group relationship emerging in Nepal in the recent times. One might say that in the present state there is no immediate danger of a

serious breakdown in the older form of relationship, and of Nepal facing an ethnic problem of a big magnitude. But the future might be different, who knows. A new basis of national integration will have to be found to give the country a new strength of unity. This lies certainly in including new values of democracy and by encouraging increased popular participation of the people in the country's political process. As long as the old order prevailed, the Hindu system of social values was allowed to go unquestioned. Caste inequality and difference of status which it accorded to people was held as a preordained fact and hence, legitimate, by everyone. It got supported on two key Hindu concepts. One was the theory of *karma* according to which the present life of a person got explained in terms of his deeds in his past life. He carried the fruits of his deeds to his next life after death, and his present position in terms of his caste standing according to this belief, is therefore an earned one. Any disadvantage suffered in this life can only be mitigated by living it in accordance with the rules of *dharma*, which laid emphasis on the right and virtuous conduct of a person carried out or fulfilled from his social station into which he had been born. Since all castes, high or low, shared in the truth of this ideology, this was given a wide acceptance in the society. Before the new ideas of equality, social justice and democracy infiltrated in Nepal from outside, the traditional Hindu model of caste had provided it, as in the opinion of some, a 'harmonic model' (Béteille: 1975). It was a natural Hindu outlook and a legally acknowledged arrangement in the Old Legal Code of Nepal by which it incorporated even the most culturally contrastive ethnic societies into one social order by giving each of them a definite place in their caste rankings. However much some of us might wish to see this 'harmonic model' to prevail as before, this may not be possible. Because, this model has just outlived its utility now. Our true search should be to continue to find this harmony in group relationship, but the values on which they are to be based must, however, be compatible with the times.

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*Women's Work and Child-bearing Experience:
Two Ethnic Groups of Salme, Nepal*

C. Panter - Brick

In many societies, women play a dual role: they contribute to the subsistence economy and they are primarily responsible for childcare. This has important implications for their position in society. The idea that there may be a conflict in these responsibilities has been supported with interesting ethnographic documentation (Chen and et al. 1979; Lee, 1980; Popkin, 1980) and has led to a concern for the health of mothers and their children (Jelliffe, 1979; Thompson and Baird, 1967; Ginneken and Muller, 1984). Childcare strategies must fit in with the expected working schedule, and conversely, work-loads must be adapted to ensure infant survival. The women with very small children may thus be identified as a vulnerable group in many communities, and a target for action in perspectives of development, especially in third-world countries where women have a determining role to play.

My own research was primarily directed to studying how motherhood came to affect the working behaviour of women in a difficult mountain environment in Nepal: a sample of 78 pregnant, lactating and non-child-bearing women was selected for continuous observation; each woman was followed throughout the day and her activities were recorded minute-by-minute. This study took place in the village of Salme (Nuwakot district), situated at 1870 meters in the middle hills of central Nepal, north-west of Kathmandu, and lasted one year from October 1982 to 1983. It was an integral part of a multidisciplinary project undertaken by the French National Centre of Scientific Research (CNRS, n.d.) in Salme village from 1979-85. In this paper, I summarize my observations and exemplify them with individuals case history. This is an account of the daily working and child-bearing responsibilities of women, their status in society, and the differences in behaviour between the two ethnic groups of Salme: the Tamang agriculturalists and herders, of Tibeto-Burmese origin, and the Kami blacksmiths of Indo-Nepalese descent.

1. *The Daily Work of Women*

Two ethnic groups coexist in Salme and have adopted very different subsistence strategies. The Tamang operate in a mixed agricultural and pastoral economy. They have terraced most of the mountain side, except for the forest and meadows below the ridge, and planted a number of crops at different altitudes. They work on a tight schedule throughout the year: the paddy rice grown at lowest elevations (1400-1660 meters), the maize and finger-millet on middle-altitude grounds (1600-2000 meters), the wheat and barley at higher altitudes (2000 m), and the other minor crops are planted

and harvested in rapid succession. The Tamang also own cattle, such as cows, oxen, water-buffaloes, and transhumant sheep and goats. In contrast, the Kami depend for livelihood on the blacksmith trade, supplying the Tamang with agricultural and household implements for a payment in grain. The Kami also own a little land, a water-buffalo and a few goats or pigs, and offer their services as casual labour to work on Tamang land.

As can be expected, the organisation of labour in Tamang and Kami groups is rather different. The Tamang woman ('Tamangni') is expected to work in the fields, to cut fodder and herd the animals, to pound crops and grind flour in the mill, to keep the house clean and to look after small children. Interestingly, her responsibilities relative to a man's work are not sharply demarcated: the sexual division of labour is not a rigorous one, because each task may usually be done by either men or women. Men contribute to household work, and frequently cook meals, sweep floors, and also carry young children to the fields, cut fodder, and take grain to the mill, although they are rarely observed to pound crops. Men and women, young and old, participate more or less equally in economic activities. This is exemplified at times of 'parma' (Nepali) or 'nang' (Tamang), when work must be speedily accomplished, and kinsmen, neighbours or friends organise themselves in groups of 5-20 people to work a number of days for each participant in turn. One example of 'parma' work occurs in the month of April when a reserve of wood must be cut in the forest and carried home before the monsoon: both men and women carry up to 40 kg of wood, and take the whole day to bring in two loads. Of course, many tasks are in fact preferentially assigned to one or another sex. But when men were unavailable to help, 'traditionally' male activities, such as digging the rice fields with a spade, or weaving bamboo baskets and mats were undertaken by the women. There is however one religious interdiction which forbids a woman to touch a ploughshare, if the village is to be prosperous: consequently women cannot plough the fields.

Tamang society is rightly described as being fundamentally egalitarian (Toffin, 1976; Toffin, 1976): there is little socio-economic differentiation between families, and very flexible work organisation within the household. However, one should not assume that people perform the same kind of work each day. On the contrary, there is a high variability in the working behaviour of individuals (Panter-Brick, n.d.) a family has to meet simultaneous labour requirements in the home, the fields, and with the cattle, and its members will exchange responsibilities from day to day.

The work of Kami women ('Kamini') is, on the other hand, strikingly different from the work of Kami men, because the latter spend most of their day in the smithy. The Kami men do not seem to cook, cut fodder, and rarely herd the animals, but they do supervise the children left under their care in the smithy; they also work in the fields when necessary. The place of a Kami woman is more

fundamentally in the household, as will be made evident below, and her most important role is to cook and care for the children. But since the men are engaged in their trade, the women also work the land and in husbandry.

The most substantial difference in the work pattern of Tamang and Kami women is respective mobility. The Tamang must often walk considerable distances to their fields and may spend up to 120 minutes a day travelling up and down the slope on uneven and difficult terrain. Since they plant their crops in careful rotation and at different altitudes, their actual movements will vary according to the time of the year. In contrast the Kami own fields which are mostly very close to the village; the women will only walk a fair distance when they work as casual labourers (N: 'kethalo') on Tamang fields. This difference in mobility also holds true when women engage in husbandry. The Tamang have large herds of cattle which are too numerous to keep in the village: each household may have some 2 to 30 animals. They shelter them on the mountain side, in a 'goth' (N) or 'gora' (T), a temporary structure of wooden posts and bamboo mats. A man or a woman will stay in the 'goth' to watch over the cattle. The Tamang will erect, dismantle, and move the 'goth' and the cattle from terrace to terrace, since the cattle must fertilise the fallow areas with their droppings, and also be kept away from the standing crops. The Kami, on the other hand, keep as a rule only one she-buffalo, and mostly stall-feed this animal or herd it in the village. The Kami women cut fodder daily, but collect grasses and weeds in the fields and on the paths close to the village: their round trip may take them 20 to 45 minutes. Finally, the Tamang women go far into the forest to cut good quality wood for their fuel needs; the Kami women do not do so, since the men are the ones who go to the forest to replenish the reserve of wood.

One Tamang woman expressed the different behaviour of the two groups in saying that the Kami were afraid to go far from the village; they went just to the outskirts of the forest, and brought firewood which burnt poorly and blackened the inside of houses. The Tamang in contrast were neither lazy nor afraid to travel long distances to collect the best grasses for their cattle, medicinal herbs, 'bramji' yeast to ferment their beer, and the best quality wood.

2. *Maternity and Working Behaviour*

The pressure of work on the Tamang women in Salme is such that a woman's normal role in the subsistence economy may be largely unaffected by pregnancy right up to the birth of the child. Some pregnant women continued heavy physical work right up to the time of delivery. Thus one woman joined a 'parma' group to plant millet in the fields some 20 minutes away from the village; she felt labour pains in the afternoon, was rushed to her husband's home and gave birth. Another woman joined the wood-carrying 'parma' group when eight months pregnant, and carried out strenuous work for some

15 days. Thus in most cases, it is difficult to tell from a woman's working behaviour whether she is pregnant or not, even when at the most advanced stage. One case was indeed quite incredible: my immediate neighbour was an older woman who gave birth one night to a baby girl, but until then, the fact that she was pregnant was not known to anyone outside her family; my local assistants, who were actively recruiting pregnant women to participate in my research, had been unable to guess her condition.

Pregnancy is indeed difficult to recognise for various reasons besides continuation of work. The fashion of clothing does not reveal the size of the stomach: women wear a skirt (T: 'syama') made of three meters of cloth which they pleat on the front, and which they secure with another cloth five meters long. Very few women walk with particular difficulty, even when they reach the term of pregnancy; local people say that the best way to identify a pregnant woman is to look for a change in her complexion. Moreover, women do not easily admit to being pregnant. One woman believed that the foetus first wanders in the womb (N: 'Petma ghum-dai chha': it is walking about in the belly); only after five months would she accept that she was pregnant (N: 'pet bokdakeri': carrying in the belly). This belief may be a way for the women to account for the high frequency of miscarriage they experience.

Some families, however, may ease the work-load on a woman during pregnancy. For example, they may send her to the 'goth' where the work schedule is comparatively light. Thus one woman, five months pregnant, lived in the 'goth' with her husband, while her father-in-law stayed in the village home; her responsibilities were to cook meals, fetch water and herd the cattle in high pasture land. Pregnant women may also work at a slower rate if sent to the fields, but this is hard to quantify.

The Kami women do not have the same obligations to work as the Tamang. The Kami women, when pregnant, said they would not go to the fields when they felt lazy. The Tamang said the child-bearing experience does not affect their usual work: they must go to the fields, although they might not be sent very far or given the hardest work.

Once the baby is born, all women however are obliged to make greater adjustments. They are secluded after delivery in the husband's home. The Tamang women stay inside for 5 days if they have borne a girl, 7 days if their child is a boy; the Kamini are allowed 7 days for a girl, 11 days for a boy. Special foods are given to the new mother (N: 'sutkeri') such as rice, chicken meat, milk, and one 'mana' of butter (about 400 ml). According to village tradition, this will make her feel stronger. The mother also drinks 'bhaph', a fermented paste made of maize flour, in order to produce better milk; she should also avoid the meat of the buffalo, since it swells the stomach and gives diarrhea. In contrast, hardly any foods were recommended or prohibited during

pregnancy: one Tamang woman explained that each mother could follow her own judgement in this respect, but that she did not take special foods because she knew the foetus may not survive. Again, the women of Tamang caste seem to think little of a maternity until the baby is actually born. They also say they are happy if a child is born four or five years after marriage, but not if it is born quickly before they have had time to laugh and be merry. Both Tamang and Kami women accept as the will of God the number of children they will bear (N: 'jeti Baghawanle dincha, teti man parcha; teti tikai cha': that many children given by God, that many number will I like; this will be fine); but many women approached me in secret to see if I could not abort their coming child.

After delivery, the women quickly resume their habitual work. Since they must always be with the new-born to breast-feed, they take the baby with them to their usual place of work. They carry the baby in a cot (T: 'jholangye' or 'goyong') made of bamboo, which they sling on the back and support with a head-strap. This leaves them free to perform their ordinary tasks: they may even carry a heavy load on their back by securing the baby on top of it. When they work in the fields, they may either carry the baby or place the cot in the shade nearby; the mother's work is often interrupted to breast-feed the child when he cries. When the infant grows older and is no longer easily carried, it is increasingly left behind in the home or 'goth', under the supervision of elder relatives or siblings.

The close contact between mother and child in the first few years has important consequences on the health of children. The mortality rate of children under 6 years of age is 32% when both sexes are considered, but two thirds of these deaths take place in the first six months (Meyer, n.d.). Hygiene is generally very poor. Many women become ill after childbirth, because they fail to wash themselves properly: the water is very cold and there is no privacy at the village fountain. They may not wash the child conscientiously (dried blood may be left at the limb-joints), although they will oil the baby with mustard oil every week for about a month. The baby is dressed with strips of the mother's discarded clothes, placed in the cot which is entirely covered with part of the mother's thick cotton skirt. The young child is carried most of the time either by the mother or an elder sibling: this pattern of child-care has endured for most of human history (Lozoff, 1977). In Salme, I believe this seriously affects the motor development of children: some children aged three hardly knew how to walk. The young children of Salme are hardly ever separated from the mother and breast-fed on demand; many studies have explored the effects of prolonged lactation on the growth rate of children and anaevolutionary cycles (Jelliffe, 1979). The first solid foods are ritually given to a boy on the sixth month, or any odd number of months, and to a girl on the fifth month, or any even number of months. These foods are essentially the same ones which consist of the adult diet: 'chamba', a paste made of finely ground maize flour, or a porridge

of rice, with salt and butter added. Because of their bulk, the child may eat very little at a time: between 3 to 6 months of age the intake of children ranges from 10 kcal to 50 kcal, and does not exceed 500 kcal until they reach 2 years of age. They may continue to breast-feed for a period of up to four years. Mothers give a number of reasons which affect the timing of weaning: they might not have enough milk, the child may not accept solid foods, or the mother may again be pregnant. The regular anthropometric measurements taken in Salme demonstrate an important seasonal dimension to the health of children, since the growth rate falters significantly in the rainy season. The weight of women, including pregnant women, also show erratic fluctuations.

The Kami have a slightly different pattern of child-care, since the Kami women stay generally closer to home base. When they go to the fields, they carry the baby on their back, either in a bamboo cot or strapped in cloth, and behave much as the Tamang mothers do. However, when they go to cut fodder, they generally leave the baby or children with their husband in the smithy, because they stay close to the home base and are not gone long. The results of the weighed food survey also indicated they feed their babies relatively better than do the Tamang, especially boys.

3. *The General Status of Women*

A very significant aspect of the difference between the Tamang and Kami is expressed in their socio-cultural denomination. The two groups are ethnies of separate origin, interact as distinct castes in the village, and have different traditions, beliefs and culture. It is often said that women of Tibetan origin enjoy a more egalitarian relationship with men, have a stronger tradition of female entrepreneurship, and have freer sexual norms relative to women in Hindu groups; the latter generally keep the rule of purdha, cannot separate or divorce from their husbands, and identify with their role as a mother bearing male children. This description has been supported by the work of Acharya and Bennett (Acharya and Bennett, 1981), who led a study on the status of women of different ethnic groups in eight villages of Nepal. An interesting part of their study concerns the classification of communities on the basis of observations made on the work of men and women: the extent to which a woman is limited to the household subsistence production, rather than participating in the local market economy or outside employment, was interpreted in terms of an inside/outside dichotomy. The most highly dichotomised communities among the villages studied were the Hindu groups Brahman, Chetri and Sarki, and at the other extreme were the Magar, Rai and Tibetan groups. The Tamang fell into the non-dichotomous group: they are Buddhists who retain strong links with Tibetan culture, but they have also been influenced by Hindu values. The Kami were not included in that study, but have been described elsewhere (Hofer, 1976), and may be classified with the Sarki, a low-caste Hindu group.

These characterisations of Tibetan and Hindu culture hold true for the people of Salme. They are reflected in the organisation of daily work in the community, and also in the experience of motherhood and the relationships established between men and women. First of all, the women tend to have a characteristic demographic history. The Kamini marry at a younger age than do the Tamangni, at age 17 compared to age 20. They tend to have children on average every two years, whereas the average birth interval of Tamang women is approximately three years; the completed family size is 4,7 for Tamang and 5,5 for the Kami. This difference is certainly related to the strenght of the marital bond and the permanency of residence in the Kami group, relative to the Tamang.

Every woman in the community of Salme is attached either to her natal household (N: 'maithi'), or to her marital home (N: 'ghar'). Residence is patrilocal, but in the case of Tamangni, a woman's transfer between 'maithi' and 'ghar' is not clearly demarcated: even after marriage, a Tamang woman has the liberty to move from one home to another. Indeed, it is very common for a married girl to live with her parents until the birth of her first child, especially if she is young and if the marriage was arranged between the families. Quite a few women, aged between 20 and 25 years, were also living in the 'maithi' after bearing their husband's child: they would not openly confess to disliking the husband chosen for them, but explained that the natal family needed their labour. The latter reason is a powerful one, since the smooth running of each household depends on the workers it can mobilise. For instance, one man and his wife had no male heir, and arranged for the daughter's husband to live with them and exploit their land. If a woman does not join the 'ghar' after marriage, she is supposed to work on both the 'maithi' and the husband's fields, at either family's request. On the other hand, a woman may well work for her own 'maithi' even when she has officially moved to the 'ghar'. There seem to be no set rules about such arrangements: it depends where the workforce is needed the most, how personal relationships develop, and what families contribute towards feeding the young woman. The only absolute rule is that the birth of her child must take place in the husband's home: this legitimises the child. After this event, there is ample opportunity to visit either 'maithi' or 'ghar'. Both houses are usually only a few minutes away - 81% of the marriages are endogamous to the Salme area. Such visits are very frequent, often daily. In case of a dispute with the husband, the woman simply packs her belongings and goes to stay with her mother for as long as necessary.

The position of Kami women presents a stark contrast to the above picture. The married Kamini is permanently attached to her husband's home. Only 15 blacksmith families live in Salme compared to 300 Tamang households - the Kami are recent arrivals, the first of whom migrated from the plains some 5 generations ago - thus there are few potential local marriage partners. All Kamini wives were chosen from a village outside the area of Salme, when the Kami

men went to Trishuli bazaar, a day's walk away, to buy tin and copper metal sheets, and also when they toured other villages in the region to sell finished produce. Thus a Kami woman in Salme find a visit to the 'maithi' difficult to arrange, because of the distance involved. She may expect to see her father and mother only once a year, at the time of the Tihar festival in October, when all daughters are to return to the 'maithi' and place a 'Tika' spot on their brothers' forehead.

Tamang and Kami men may have several wives, although the Nepali law currently forbids polygamy. The wives generally live in different houses, sometimes in different hamlets. In 1983, there were several such cases in Salme. One Tamang man eventually decided that he could not maintain both his wives, and divorced one, paying compensation; her son will nonetheless receive his share of inheritance. Another Kami man took a second wife because his first spouse had born him five daughters but no son.

The Tamang woman may well marry more than once, but will not have more than one husband at a time. If she is discovered to have had sexual relations outside marriage, her husband can extract compensation from her lover. If this lover wishes to take the woman in his own household, he will have to pay an even higher fee. Divorces are very common among the Tamang, especially in the first years of marriage, and may be initiated by women as well as by men. Reasons given for divorce are laziness, barrenness, incompatibility with in-laws, cruelty on the part of the husband, and proof of unfaithfulness. The divorce procedure is a mere formality which will cost the sum of one Roupee stamp for the legal document delivered by the local administration (Panchayat). In practice, divorce can be much more expensive, because disputes must first be settled by the leaders of each lineage. Tamang men and women are free to remarry, and there is no opporbrum attached to one who enters several marriages: some men have married and divorced four or five times. While first marriages are usually arranged between families, subsequent unions often result from individual choice. In contrast, divorce and remarriage initiated by a Kami woman is unknown in the village of Salme.

Sexual liaisons outside marriage seem to be frequent among the Tamang, absent among the Kami women. A high number of illegitimate pregnancies are found among the Tamang every year. The unmarried pregnant woman must come forth and declare who is the father of her future child: the people of Salme say that hail might otherwise destroy all the crops. The head of each ward ('adashye') and his four deputies ('sadashe') form a court ('kachari') to resolve the problem before submitting the case to the Panchayat: this council questions and confronts the different parties, and presses for a solution. The man named by the pregnant woman may admit to fathering her child, and thereby accepts her in his household. If he is already married, he will have to maintain both wives: some of his fields will be re-allocated to the second wife, and the inheritance

divided between the sons of the two women. The man may however deny all responsibility: he may still be fined 100 Roupees towards the expenses of delivery, and asked for meal of rice and goat meat for the council, but will neither have to maintain the woman nor recognise the child. In such a case, the woman will not be allowed to deliver the child in her home, but must give birth in the forest, well away from the village; this is a grave sanction, which shows how important it is to legitimise a maternity.

These regulations are best illustrated with examples which I witnessed in 1983; some affairs are particularly telling. A 22 year-old Tamang man married one woman from Salme, but also had a brief affair with a girl from another hamlet. Both women became pregnant, and both delivered their child in his home, on the very same night: his wife bore him a girl, and the other a son. There was ill-feeling in the household and the women returned to their respective 'maithi' within a week. Some months later, the wife's family instigated proceedings of divorce: she was young and could remarry someone who would offer more land to her future children, but she had little guarantees with her husband because inheritance is shared amongst male children. The husband agreed, not wanting to maintain both wives; the council decided he should award the one who seeking divorce 1800 Roupees compensation for bearing his daughter.

Such matters however are seldom devoid of animosity and violence. Unfaithful wives are beaten by their husbands: one night the men of one lineage climbed the hillside to where a Tamang woman lived in her 'goth', kicked her and broke her teeth to punish her for adultery when her husband was absent. Another time, one woman attacked another who was nine months pregnant, pushed her to the ground and jumped with both feet on her womb. The pregnant woman was known to have had sexual relations with the other's husband, and was carrying his child. The pregnant woman's husband, who was away in India when his wife became pregnant, threatened to throw her out of the house when he returned, and not recognise the child; but the council intervened and obtained on his behalf a heavy compensation from her lover.

The above cases seem to indicate that in practice the keeping of sexual standards among the Tamang is very lax, but that there is also a grave concern to legitimise children. The Kami group can escape this problem because their women are always kept strictly under the control of fathers and husbands. There are no example of such flirtations or contraventions of sexual standards among the Kami of Salme. There may be no rule of purdha in this group, or in the hills generally, but Kami women are nonetheless kept near to home. In contrast, the Tamangni, spend extended periods of time alone in the 'goth', in a mill away from the village, or on pasture land; people whisper they may be met there by lovers. Also, on occasion of a feast ('Cheychu', 'Dasai') young men and women team up in threes or fours to dance and sing all night: three

Tamangni, who became illegitimately pregnant in 1983, confessed to a short-lived affair on one of these nights. Finally, although the behaviour of women relative to their husband is marked with great restraint, the converse behaviour is often displayed between the Tamang young: within 'parma' groups especially, many explicit jokes are made between potential sexual partners, and suggestive improvisations sung on the verses of the village tune while they work. Very little opportunity exists for the Kami women in Salme to develop such relationships with the men of her group.

No sexual relation is permitted between individuals of Tamang and Kami caste. The Salme villagers say this has never happened and would be considered an offense as serious as incest. Many rules which are openly stated in Salme are in fact disobeyed in secret - for instance some Tamang ate cooked food in the Kami households, although the latter are a polluting low caste, but would never admit to it publicly: but this rule governing sexual relations between the two castes seem to be upheld.

It is interesting then, that the Tamang should have on average less children than do the Kami. On the one hand they are more sexually permissive, on the other, their cohabitation with men has less permanency. Neither group knows of reliable means of contraception. It is also possible, although difficult to quantify in this research, that the Tamangni experience more miscarriages (as they seem to do more strenuous work), and suffer from venereal diseases (which could lower their fertility).

An examination of the position of women in Salme reveals a fairly clear cultural and occupational differentiation between the Tamang and the Kami. The determining factor in the pattern of their work and maternity is neither gender nor physical environment, which they share, but the combination of ethnically specific division of labour and cultural inheritance. The Tamang succeed at this high altitude by working in a multi-resource based economy, and find in the 'goth' and the 'parma' important ways of maximising the benefits of their time and energy inputs. They would find it difficult to restrict their women as much as the Kami do, without curtailing their mobility; however, such action would endanger their strategy for survival, which depends so much on the spatial dispersion of labour. The Kami are more capable of placing restrictions on their women's movements and activities because their productive activities are more spatially restricted, being centered around the home and the smithy. The different productive activities and the different degree of socio-cultural control over women in each of the two groups in Salme are mutually reinforcing; moreover they serve to maintain the separation of the Tamang and Kami castes in village society.

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Nāgas

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The worship of *devas* may be the most visible aspect of religion in the Kathmandu Valley, but it is certainly not the only aspect. In the actual day-to-day practice of religion it is often the lesser *devtas* and supernaturals who demand people's attentions. For it is they who most directly affect such pragmatic concerns as health, wealth and fertility. Among these lesser deities, *nāgas* - or serpent-deities - are of considerable importance. They play a prominent role in mythological accounts of the history of the Valley, are represented in a variety of art forms, and are regularly propitiated in both domestic rituals and larger community festivals.

Yet *nāgas* remain somehow elusive. Opinions as to their precise nature and function vary considerably, and they continue to generate a sense of ambivalence for many Nepalis. Furthermore, only scant attention is given them in the many ethnographies of religion in the Valley.

This paper aims to focus attention onto *nāgas* and their role in the day-to-day practice of religion in the Kathmandu Valley. The paper is divided into 3 sections. The first is a descriptive account - for the ethnographic record - of events surrounding the alleged appearance of *nāgas* at Char Ghare, on the outskirts of Kathmandu, in December - January 1983/84. The second section is an account of people's responses to and interpretations of the significance of these events. The third section is an attempt to come to grips with the significance of *nāgas* more generally, in the context of Nepalese religion.

I. Nagas in Char Ghare¹

In early December 1983 a Tamang farmer of Char Ghare, near Bodnath, had a dream in which he was told that a serpent-deity (*nāga*) was about to appear to the world in material form². Later, the farmer was digging in his field when a spring suddenly gushed from the ground³. According to the farmer, the heads of five snakes appeared from out of this spring⁴. Their necks were intertwined, and on the back of one's head was a shining object⁵. After a few minutes the snakes disappeared together back into the spring, only to reappear again, at regular intervals.



Before long, word spread that these somewhat extraordinary snakes were in fact nāgas. Now the worship of nāgas is an important part of Nepalese religious life but very seldom, if ever, do they reveal themselves to humanity in material form. Consequently, hundreds of people came to the site to witness for themselves these strange beings, and to offer worship. A committee was formed to control the crowds and generally 'manage' the event. A priest (*pujārī*) was appointed to perform rituals of worship, and donations were solicited to enable the construction of a small temple (*mandir*). The road to the site was improved, parking facilities were provided (and fees levied), and various entrepreneurs (sellers of balloons, tea, paddy seeds, etc) soon established themselves. The question of the 'real' identity and significance of these nāgas/snakes came to be a popular subject of discussion throughout the Valley.

When I first visited the site myself, in early January 1984, there were approximately 300 people present, with a steady flow of people coming and going. The area surrounding the field where the nāgas were appearing had been securely fenced off, and volunteer guardians recruited by the committee were successfully controlling the crowds. Above the field itself was a red canopy and an electric light bulb. Underneath, the stubble of the paddy was covered by water (bubbling from a spring) to a depth of approximately 3cm. Near to where the nāgas were appearing was a small altar, on which placed the various ritual implements used by the priest in his rituals. Covering the entire area were coins and flowers thrown by worshippers.

At first, there was no sign of either nāgas or snakes. However after approximately 1 hour the noise of the crowd suddenly increased, and I looked to find the heads of what appeared to be 2 snakes, raised together above the water, with a third approximately 2 metres away. The head of each snake was approximately 4 cm long and stood approximately 15 cm above the water. The snakes remained in that position, apparently motionless, for approximately 10 minutes, then disappeared together. An hour later, the snakes appeared again, for 15 minutes, then disappeared together.

I returned to the site on 3 occasions over the next 10 days. On every occasion at least 2 and sometimes 3 snakes made an appearance. On one occasion I arrived at the site at dawn. There were already some 20 or so worshippers present. The priest arrived at approximately 7.00 A.M. and, after cleaning the area of rubbish and purifying it with holy water and a white paste, began to recite various *mantras*. The heads of 2 snakes then appeared and the priest offered *tikā* to those present.

By 9.00 A.M. the crowd had swelled to over 300 worshippers and entrepreneurs. The crowd represented a fair cross-section of Nepalese society, including senior public servants and their families, businessmen, peasants from 3 days' walk away, Buddhist monks, local villagers and the occasional tourist. The only person that I saw given access to the site itself, apart from the priest, was an ascetic from India.

On the 2nd January 1984, the English language daily, the *Rising Nepal*, published an article about what it called the "Char Ghare phenomenon". The article was accompanied by a photo of the snakes, quoted reactions from various worshippers, and noted the many peculiarities and unresolved questions surrounding the event. A number of letters to the editor appeared, principally concerned with the issue of whether or not these beings really were nāgas or just ordinary snakes. Subsequently the Nepali daily newspaper, the *Gorkhāpatra*, ran an article essentially discrediting the assertion that the snakes were nāgas and suggesting that such 'superstitions' were contrary to 'scientific' evidence and the interests of a developing nation. Interviews with members of the crowd following publication of the article revealed that it had provoked much public discussion but had had little effect on the number of worshippers coming to the site.

In late February 1984 I visited the site again. I found only 50 or so worshippers, an element of cynicism and even suspicion among many of those present, and a general sense of decay. I was told that there was some disagreement within the committee as to how much money had been collected, and that in any case there were sufficient funds only for the construction of a small pond at the site, rather than a temple. Nevertheless, at least one snake was still appearing, and belief in the category of nāgas in general appeared to have remained unaffected by events.

In February 1986, I visited the site again. Water was still bubbling from a small spring, and the area surrounding it had been walled off and had not been sown with paddy. However, there was no evidence of either nāgas or snakes, or temple, or even people. The only evidence of any religious activity whatsoever were 3 small stones marked with red *tika* powder. Later, in Ghare, I asked whether the nāgas were still appearing. Responses varied from "Never", to "once 4 months ago", to "every Monday and Tuesday mornings". Apparently an (unsuccessful) attempt had been made (by "outsiders") in mid-1984 to revive interest by placing obviously artificial snakes at the site. No sign had been seen of the money collected. On the whole, villagers felt that the events had, if anything, brought them bad luck. Nevertheless, I was assured that all Chār Ghare residents had maintained their belief in the general category of nāgas, and that at least 10 people continued to offer worship at the site each week. (this was due in part to the significance attached to the continued flow of water from the spring.) There had been no reports of appearances of nāgas elsewhere.

II. Responses to the Events

Now the events at Chār Ghare are certainly of interest, if for no other reason than the many puzzling circumstances surrounding the appearance of the snakes/nāgas. Firstly, the snakes appeared in the middle of winter, a time when the great majority of species are in hibernation. Secondly, is the fact that at least 2 (and perhaps more) snakes rose, stayed erect, and disappeared together, from the same spot, at the same time. Thirdly, is the fact that they appeared so often, over such a long period of time, and so regularly that their appearance was almost predictable. Fourthly, is the fact that the snakes remained at the site and continued to exhibit themselves despite the considerable impact of hundreds of onlookers only 3 or 4 metres away, making much noise and throwing coins, flowers etc. Finally, is the fact that the events conform in so many ways with accounts of the appearance of nāgas elsewhere in South Asia. (See Section III).

It was suggested by some, of course, that the events constituted a conscious conspiracy. It would appear, however, that there is little evidence for this claim. The committee set up to manage the event remained very loosely organised, with no obviously powerful or charismatic leader. The owner of the land himself appeared to be rather frightened by the whole affair⁶ and every one I spoke to - 'believers' or otherwise - acknowledged the potential dangers and taboos associated with falsely representing and involving oneself with nāgas. Furthermore, I found relatively little embellishment in accounts of the events themselves. A real question remained therefore as to the explanation of the events, and their significance. For this reason I interviewed over 20 worshippers (representing a variety of castes, occupations and religious persuasions). On the basis of these interviews, and

comments of worshippers quoted in the *Rising Nepal* (2/1/84), the following may be said to have been the most representative of responses to the events at Chār Ghare:

- a. *Full, unqualified belief* in the existential reality and significance of the nāgas, as nāgas. An example of this attitude (probably the most common I encountered) is the statement by Kesar Chalise, an elderly resident of the nearby village of Jorpāti:

"It is lord Vishnu himself who has come to give us humans a glimpse of himself in the form of nāgas so that we humans will not lose our faith in the Lord at this time when the world is going through a period of turmoil"

(quoted in *Rising Nepal* 2/1/84 p. 6)

On two occasions it was suggested to me that Nepalis have no choice in this kind of situation; that belief in nāgas is part and parcel of being Nepalese. Furthermore, nāgas *must* be protected and worshipped since Nepal is their only remaining home. One informant said to me:

"If we don't believe in nāgas we are letting them die. If we don't let the nāgas live they will die out altogether. Then who will make sure that the rains come and go?"

- b. *Initial doubts followed by confirmation of belief* following the witnessing of the nāgas. A high-ranking civil servant, for example, (who claimed to have come only at the insistence of his wife) maintained that nāgas can never be seen. Later, however, he proclaimed his belief (and made a large donation) after his wife had experienced a light shower of rain (i.e., evidence of the presence of nāgas) at the site.
- c. *Disbelief, but worship "just in case"*. This attitude was most prevalent among those from neighbouring villages and among those from professional occupations. It was interesting to note that perhaps the most vociferous sceptic and critic, demanded that I interview him over a kilometre away from the site, where "the nāgas won't hear us"!
- d. *Ambivalent curiosity*. An example of this attitude is the following comment from a Buddhist monk:

"I cannot say for sure that these snakes are nāgas because I have never seen a nāga. And for the same reason I cannot say that they are not nāgas. (quoted in *Rising Nepal* 2/1/84 p.6)

While the debate as to the existential status of the snakes was an important one, it became clear to me that actually *seeing* the snakes was a relatively unimportant factor in the debate; that

the proof was not, as it were, in the pudding. One old resident of Chār Ghare explained to me that while I might be able to see the snakes, I would not be able to see them as *nāgas*. For if *nāgas* were to manifest themselves in material form to all and sundry there would be no further necessity for faith (and thus commitment).

Interpretation of the significance of the events were quite diverse. (None of those interviewed suggested that the events were *not* significant and residents still maintain today that it was one of the most important events in the Kathmandu Valley in many years). The most common explanations were those couched in religious terms and included the following:

- a. The events were important because they provided the first ever opportunity for worship (*darsan*) with *nāgas* in observable material form and on a regular basis.
- b. The events signified a resurgence of traditions and a renewal of faith and devotion in the Hindu deities, particularly Vishnu.
- c. The events signified a reaffirmation of a *pre-Hindu* past, and opportunity for worship of and communion with ancestors.

There can be little doubt that the cause of religion was, at least temporarily, aided by the alleged appearance of the *nāgas*. What is interesting, however, is that many people I spoke with saw the events as signalling a degree of ecumenism (given the significance of *nāgas* in both Hinduism and Buddhism) and representing something of a challenge to the orthodox religious elite (who, some say, have tended to ignore *nāgas* in recent times).

Those who did not profess belief in the *nāgas* tended to give more weight to social, political or economic explanations of the significance of the events. Such explanations included the following:

- a. The events were essentially a low caste phenomenon. One Brahmin respondent said that it was an attempt by the villagers to confirm their status within Hindu society. Another said that it was an attempt to affirm an independent, *pre-Hindu* identity. (Neither respondent was particularly critical of such alleged motivations).
- b. The events brought considerable political and economic benefits to the village or, at least; to particular individuals in the village, e.g., the income derived from donations and parking fees; improvements to the road, etc. (Undoubtedly this is true, but it would be interesting to know whether these benefits were planned, or merely accrued as a byproduct of the events).

- c. The events were a rather novel, but nevertheless acceptable means of collecting the funds necessary for the construction of a local temple. Certainly they also provided opportunity of a festive occasion and some social excitement.

Now, as an 'objective researcher', I accepted that it was neither my responsibility nor within my capability to judge the validity of these various responses. However, I found that I could not totally divorce *my own* personal discomfort as to the existential status of these snakes from my professional efforts to record and understand the various explanations offered by others. Therefore, I tended to distinguish those responses which regarded the snakes as nāgas (and thus important at an internal, spiritual level) from those which regarded them as mere snakes (and thus important at a sociopolitical and economic level). However, it soon became obvious that such a separation was not particularly helpful. More in-depth discussion with informants revealed that at least some people simultaneously maintained both religious and socioeconomic interpretations and, when pressed, saw no contradiction in doing so⁷.

Could I not see, one particularly enlightened informant asked, that different interpretations were merely the result of different levels of focus, and that each level of focus was only part of a 'truth' that lay in a greater whole? As a 'scientist' this informant looked at the snakes as snakes and wondered at their socioeconomic ramifications. As a Hindu, however, he looked at the snakes as nāgas and felt awe and reverence. Of course, the informant was *both* scientist and Hindu.

Another informant explained it thus:

"on the outside we can see that the snakes are just snakes. We can all see that. But on the inside they are nāgas. We can all feel that. You can't have the inside without the outside".

The conclusion would appear to be that religious and socioeconomic interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive; that *all* of the various attitudes and explanations offered contain elements worth pursuing in developing a better appreciation of the events and their significance. Such a conclusion, of course, has some rather important implications for how we social scientists go about studying and reporting on the phenomena we encounter.

The trouble with this conclusion, however, is that not all of my informants shared this eclectic, multidimensional approach to things. In fact, one of the most interesting (disturbing?) aspects of the events for me personally was the tension I encountered between those who saw the events in terms of a threat to the development of a 'rational', 'scientific' way of thinking, and those who saw them as an opportunity for the reaffirmation of traditional Nepalese religious and cultural identity. (While those who held

to the former view tended to be the Western-educated, urban professionals, there was no necessary correlation here). In a letter to the editor of the *Rising Nepal* (4.1.84), one reader wrote of "dispelling the ignorance and superstitions" surrounding the events. The *Gorkhapatra* in its article in Nepali on the subject, repeatedly stressed that there was "nothing strange" about any of the events, and offered considerable 'scientific' evidence in support of this claim⁸. A senior staff member of the *Rising Nepal* was quite critical of my interest in such things as nāgas, saying that there were more important things that I should be concerned with, and that dwelling on the supernatural would only retard the country's progress. On the other hand, another staff member said to me:

"my colleagues are trained to think in terms of science. They argue about whether they are or are not nāgas. But I think in terms of God. For me, the strength of my belief says they are nāgas. Perhaps it means a new age of darkness? or may be of light? Only God and the nāgas know those things".

A representative of the committee managing the events commented to me simply that:

"we are sad the newspapers say they are not nāgas when we can see that they are".

Now the very intensity of people's responses to the events at Chār Ghare suggests that there is something about nāgas in general that warrants further investigation. For many centuries the people of the Kathmandu Valley (and in fact throughout the world) have placed considerable importance on these deities - with or without confirmation of their existential 'reality'. In the last section of this paper I offer a preliminary exploration of why this might be so, and the implications which such an interpretation might hold for an understanding of religion in Nepal more generally.

III. Nāgas: A preliminary exploration

The worship of nāgas is in no way a peculiarity of the Kathmandu Valley. As early as 1833, Deane spoke of serpent worship as 'universal'. In a lecture delivered to the Society for the Study of Religions in 1938, Yahuda commented that "we must take it as a fact that serpent worship and serpent symbolism belong to the oldest and most primitive manifestations of human thought" (quoted by Joines 1974: VI) In 1969 Eliade wrote that nāgas

"represent the genii of places, the aboriginal sacrality... preserving a timeless 'hidden doctrine'" (1969: 352)

Evidence of serpent worship can indeed be found throughout the world - from Alaska (where there are no snakes) to the Mediterranean; from S.E. Asia to West Africa. There are some important similarities in the ways in which the nature and function of snakes is perceived in these various regions. With the notable exception of the Christian tradition, the snake is seldom portrayed as wholly profane or wholly holy, but rather as a somewhat ambiguous combination of such oppositions - a strange and provocative synthesis of life and death and therefore an object of both intense animosity and reverence. In many parts of the world the snake is associated with water⁹ (which is both productive and potentially destructive), with fertility¹⁰ and with illness and healing¹¹. Often the snake is infused with bird symbolism¹². And often it is used as a symbol of change¹³.

One reason given for the almost universal significance of serpent worship is the intriguing physical characteristics of the snake: its efficient (and somewhat mysterious) gliding motion, its regular sloughing off of its skin, its penetrating eyes, and of course the power of its poison relative to its size.

In South Asia nāgas and their worship are a pervasive (though often background) theme in both pre-Vedic, Vedic and Buddhist mythology, literature, art and ritual activity¹⁴. Zimmer writes:

"between the Buddha and the nāga there is no such antagonism as we are used to in the saviour versus serpent symbolism of the West. According to the Buddhist view, all the genii of nature rejoice, together with the highest Gods, upon the appearance of the incarnate redeemer and the serpent, as the principle manifestation of the waters of terrestrial life, is no exception... in India the serpent and the saviour are two basic manifestations of the one, all-containing divine substance" (quoted by Bajracharya and Smith 1978: 66,89)

Shiva is sometimes called the king of the Serpents, yet Vishnu is perhaps even more closely associated with them. Vishnu is often represented iconographically as the axis of the universe, at the base of which lie the nāgas¹⁵. There is an important structural opposition in South Asian mythology between the snake (representing earth) and the eagle (representing sky). The term for eagle - *garuda* - is from the Sanskrit root 'gri', literally 'to swallow'. The snake and the eagle are often represented iconographically as swallowing each other. Yet this very opposition is often used as a symbol of the interdependence and ultimate union of opposites - of *upaya* and *prajñā*, of the material and spiritual, mortality and immortality.

In Nepal, nāgas are believed to predate existence¹⁶. Prior to the first churning of the primordial waters, prior to the blossoming of the lotus from Vishnu's navel, prior to the first illumination at the hill of Swayambhu, nāgas coursed their way

through the myriad channels of the underworld and provided the structural foundation on which life (and death) in the world above would eventually be built.

Nāgas may predate existence, but they also give it form. The Kathmandu Valley itself was once a lake (called *Nāgadaha*), inhabited by nāgas. At the time of Viswabhu Buddha, Manjusrī came from Tibet and drained the lake in order to make the region suitable for human habitation. The right of the nāgas to remain and retain their legendary underworld palaces was recognised by Manjusrī, on the condition that they continued to bring the rains so necessary for fertility. Sākyamuni Buddha is said to have given the nāgas tantric *dhāranis* to aid them in this function¹⁷.

Today, nāgas can be seen in art and sculpture throughout the Valley¹⁸ and are of considerable importance in such festivals as Haribodhini Ekādasi and Rāto Machhendranāth¹⁹. One festival, *Nāgapanchami* is wholly directed towards the propitiation of nāgas. During this festival, which is held in the Nepalese month of *Srāwana* (July), offerings of milk and sweets are made to the nāgas residing in every household, and portraits are hung over door ways. In this way members of the household are protected from snake-bite and illnesses said to be caused by nāgas. Nāgas are also of importance at times of house-building and the ploughing and planting of fields. The presence of nāgas at domestic ceremonies is symbolised by a twist of rope.

Nāgas are closely associated with jewels since both derive from the underworld. Because of this connection nāgas are said to be fabulously wealthy (e.g., Karkot's palace in Taudha lake) and serve an important function as guardians of wealth. (Most families will endeavour to secure the services of a nāga to reside in and protect the family's strong box). Many nāgas are believed to have jewels embedded in their foreheads (e.g., the nāga at Chār Ghare) which illuminate the murky depths of the underworld through which the nāgas travel. (Occasional flashes of light are often reported at nāga sacred sites, or *tīrthas*.)

Nāgas are often depicted as guardians at the entrance of buildings (e.g., the portraits of nāgas placed above doorways at *Nagapanchami*), over windows, at road junctions and at other more symbolic points of coming and going (e.g., between more and less sacred areas in temple complexes). This role may be derived partly from their role as guardians of wealth but it also suggests an important structural role as mediator. (It is important to note that nāgas do not stop comings and goings as much as facilitate them.)

Nāgas are often represented supporting pillars (e.g., Seshha Nāga supporting the axis of the universe; domestic nāgas supporting central poles and beams in houses; Vāsuki nāga who was believed to have supported the old pillar at Delhi until disturbed - thereafter the pillar was unstable and Delhi soon fell to the Moghuls).

Nāgas also have an important role as both protector and revealer of wisdom. Buddha is said to have entrusted nāgas with the most developed of his teachings until such time as mankind was ready and able to understand them. Some of these teachings were later revealed to Nāgarjuna (some say at Nāgarjuna, in the west of the Kathmandu Valley) and formed the basis for the development of the mahayana vehicle of Buddhism. The implication of this link between nāgas and wisdom is that if nāgas are neglected, so too is wisdom. Furthermore, if there is no belief in nāgas then this implies that mankind is not ready for the wisdom which they embody and protect.

Nāgas are often said to represent man's animal nature and physicality (while the *devas* represent man's godly nature and spirituality). Nāgas are often believed to adopt human form (and vice versa e.g., King Nahuṣa who was turned into a nāga for 1000 years for insulting the seven sages) and to suffer human afflictions (e.g., Takṣak nāga was once afflicted with leprosy; Karkot nāga's wife endured chronic eyesore). Nāgas, however, also embody healing power (and this duality is also seen as symbolic of man's essential duality).

The ambivalent nature of nāgas is well demonstrated in a popular myth in the Valley. A farmer was digging in his field when he accidentally struck and killed a baby nāga. The nāga's mother retaliated by killing the farmer and his family, except for one daughter who had been away from home at the time. Rather than avenging her family's death, the daughter offered milk to the nāga mother. Impressed by this demonstration of reverence, the nāga brought the daughter's family back to life. Today nāgas are propitiated both to avert their anger, and to secure their kindness and assistance in day-to-day affairs.

Given that nāgas have such an important and pervasive role in religion in the Kathmandu valley, it is interesting to reflect on why they have received such scant attention in the ethnography (the exception here is the study by Slusser 1982). One reason perhaps is that nāgas are often classified as part of an arbitrary 'folk' dimension of religion. This dimension is perhaps less visible to the casual observer than the more 'orthodox' worship of the principal *devas* and, as some informants suggested, is perhaps declining in status in the face of the pressures of rationalisation. Another reason might be that nāgas often occupy a background role in art, sculpture and religious activity i.e., they are portrayed as either vehicles of the 'higher' deities or as providing a somewhat abstract mediatory, structural role. Furthermore, this role is so pervasive that it may well be often overlooked. A third possible reason is that nāgas appear to straddle so easily the rationalist's division between the observable material world (in the form of the snake) and the nonmaterial, supernatural world (in such forms as mediator between earth and underworld, vehicle for Vishnu, symbol of the regeneration of life, etc.). The notion that nāgas mediate

between worlds (and even more symbolic oppositions) is an elusive notion at best. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the worshipper, it is this notion that gives the nāgas such significance, and it is therefore a notion which cannot be ignored.

To sum up, nāgas both accentuate and encompass the opposition between nature and culture, good and evil, material and spiritual, life and death. Through this apparent duality they express much of the vitality, mystery and awe of creation while simultaneously affording a mediation and promising a wholeness. To whatever extent humanity has forgotten the nāgas, then, it has also forgotten its origins, and to whatever extent humanity betrays the nāgas it also betrays its own structural foundations. For the nāgas represent in a very real sense that essential underlying unity of perceived opposites from which life first arose and to which it must eventually return.

Before concluding it is worth exploring in further detail the close relationship that nāgas enjoy with water. This relationship is of vital importance for understanding the pragmatic, day-to-day significance of nāgas, since water is, of course, the key to life on earth. It is produced in the skies above, falls on the earth and drains away to the seas and subterranean reservoirs, eventually to evaporate and return to the skies to repeat its cycle anew. (The suggestion here, of course, is that water, like nāgas, functions as something of a mediator between earth and sky). The earth's surface is heavily influenced by the effects of water. Both plant and animal kingdoms depend on it. The human body largely comprises it and requires a regular intake for its survival. Agricultural productivity, pastoral activities and even industry depend on it. Yet water can also bring death and destruction in the form of storms and floods.

It is not surprising then that water and its management is often the object of spiritual activity. In Nepal it is venerated as the earthly counterpart of *amrit* (i.e., the immortalising elixir of the gods). It is considered an agent of purification and healing, a vehicle for the gods, and the home of nāgas and other earthly spirits. In fact, nāgas are believed to be present wherever there is water, particularly at springs, lakes, streams, ponds, confluences of rivers²⁰ etc. *Nāgakāsthas* (literally 'serpent timbers') are often erected in the middle of newly constructed ponds to ensure a regular supply of water²¹. Nāgas are regularly propitiated to ensure the timely advent and success of the monsoon (e.g., the *Nāgapancami* festival) and to avert impending droughts²². Many myths and legends in the Kathmandu Valley recount the close historical relationship between nāgas, water and agricultural productivity and prosperity²³. Temples (*mandir*) often house sacred pools inhabited by nāgas and these are often the site of nāga-related rituals and festivals²⁴. The presence of nāgas at festivals is believed to be indicated by a light shower of rain²⁵. Pilgrimages to sacred sites (*tirtha*) near water - such as that at Char Ghare -

are of considerable importance and the establishment of such *tīrthas* is an important means of acquiring merit.

Now it is important to remember that all water *tīrthas* in the Kathmandu Valley are believed to be interconnected, at a number of different levels simultaneously: by actual underground water courses, by thermal/telluric currents, and by more symbolic channels of esoteric power. These complex, multidimensional interconnections serve to create an integrated - and integrating - water system in the Valley (which some say resembles a *mandala*²⁶). This system, in turn, is connected with the major river-systems of Tibet and India. (Some say it is a microcosm of this larger system). By virtue of these connections the Kathmandu Valley is vitally linked up with the weather, the ecology and ultimately (given the spiritual significance of water) with the entire geospiritual cosmography of the South Asia subcontinent²⁷. Furthermore, this system is sometimes said to be reflected in other more micro-level systems of interconnection such as the pathways of psychic energy within the human body.

Nāgas of course are believed to inhabit, to move through and thus to provide the dynamic catalysing spark to this subterranean matrix, or grid, on which the world as we humans experience it is founded. Their influence is felt at all levels of the grid: snakes are to be found near water, nāgas are believed to inhabit sources of telluric energy, the axis of the universe rests on *Seṣa Nāga*, the moving of psychic energy within the body is symbolised in the form of an uncoiling serpent in *Kundalini*, etc. By virtue of the nāgas' role of structural interconnection, mind and body remain vitally linked within man and man remains vitally linked with other men, with his earthly environment, with the energies surging through the underworld and with the influences of the gods in the heavens. Just as the rains cycle from the clouds to the seas and back again, and as snakes and nāgas slither between earth and underworld according to the seasons, so man continues his eternal cycle of life, death and rebirth.

In conclusion, nāgas may, I suggest, be said to represent that view of the world which holds that the spiritual and the material realms are at least interconnected and interdependent (if not in fact one and the same thing). Nāgas provide this interconnection. In doing so, they afford a very pragmatic, this-worldly dimension to religious belief and activity. Yet, simultaneously, they serve a more transcendental purpose. They both suggest an original unity, and hold promise of an eventual synthesis, a resolution of the duality which we perceive and perpetuate in our universe (and which lies at the base of our ignorance and suffering.)

This approach to nāgas suggests some interesting interpretations of the events at Chār Ghare. Could it be that these events are a response to the tensions implicit in a time of change, when the unity of the spiritual and material worlds is increasingly

being threatened in the name of 'science' and 'development'? Could it be that renewed faith in nāgas reflects a need to reaffirm one's origins and structural interconnections, while disavowal of nāgas reflects a desire to establish a new identity within the orbit of a 'modern', 'rationalised' world-view?

Such musing is perhaps extrapolating too far on the events at Chār Ghare. However, it would appear that an indepth study of nāgas and the beliefs and practices associated with them might offer some interesting insights into the nature of sociocultural change in Nepal more generally, as well as being of interest for its own sake. Certainly the future of the nāgas themselves will be influenced by the way in which the Nepalese community responds to the challenges of a rapidly changing world.

NOTES

1. The following description is based on my own observations and interviews with informants over a 10 day period in January 1984.
2. At approximately the same time, a pilgrim at the temple of Budhanilkantha (a few kilometres north west of Char Ghare) was rumored to have also had a dream in which he was told that Śeṣa Nāga (on whom the image of the Sleeping Vishnu rests) was about to leave Budhanilkantha for some other undisclosed site. It was also removed at the time that the water level surrounding the image of the Sleeping Vishnu was falling (a possible indication that the Nāga was leaving).
3. The theme of a farmer discovering a nāga while digging in his field is common in the accounts of appearances of nāgas in South Asia. See for example Fergusson (1866) on the appearance of a nāga at Sumbulpore. A popular legend concerning the discovery of the Sleeping Vishnu image itself at Budhanilkantha contains this theme as well.
4. There is a close association between nāgas and water throughout South Asia (and elsewhere). See Section III.
5. This object was said by some to have resembled Viṣṇu's weapon (Cakra) and led some to identify the nāga as Śaṅkamaṇi Nāga. Others said this object was a jewel. (One of the many functions of nāgas is to protect jewels in their underworld palaces).
6. The farmer told me that he would not be donating the land (valued at approx. Rs. 35,000) to be used for a temple if it turned out that the snakes were not nāgas.
7. The notion that subjective, spiritual, multi-dimensional approaches to reality are necessarily in conflict with so-called objective, 'rational', 'scientific' approaches is true, of course, only within the confines of that same 'rationalising' paradigm. And,

of course, even within this paradigm there is today a considerable degree of disagreement on this subject.

8. Quoting an expert on snakes from the University's Natural Science Museum, the article said that the snakes had been identified as a common species of water snake. The temperature of the water was sufficient to allow these snakes to survive. Rather than laying eggs these snakes give birth to live young, thus 'explaining' the number of snakes present at the site. Furthermore the snakes were known for their inactivity, thus 'explaining' why they didn't run away from the crowds. The shining object on the back of the snake's head was not a jewel but rather the snakes' eyes. The mist in the air which many worshippers commented on was holy water thrown by the priest. The article went on to warn the 'older generation' not to spend money on such false rumors, and to refrain from touching the water at the site because of its polluted state.
9. For example, rituals associated with the Australian Aboriginal rainbow serpent, and North American Hopi Indian rain dances.
10. For example rituals of the field in Borneo. In South India nāgākals are placed on the outskirts of villages to promote fertility among barren women. The serpent-deity Da of Dachomey is worshipped to induce fertility and productivity.
11. For example Aesculapius (the serpent-shaped Greek God of healing and symbol of the Western medical profession), and the snake handling cults in southern USA. In Nepal, nāgas are one of the many possible supernatural causes of illness and their propitiation is an important source of healing in both Hindu and Buddhist communities. (The author is currently doing research on this subject among the Sherpas of Khumbu, Nepal).
12. For example the Greek God Hermes and the Toltec deity Quetzacoatl.
13. For example, the confrontation in Greek mythology between the chthonic maternal earthly Python and the Hellenic sky God Apollo. In Thailand the Nāga King Kala is believed to awaken only when a new Buddha is about to enlighten the earth. Similar links between serpent deities and the future Maitreya Buddha can be found in Tibetan Buddhist texts.
14. See for example the studies of serpent-worship in India by Ferguson (1866) and Vogel (1926). A popular myth in Hinduism dealing with nāgas relates how Krishna fought, subdued and finally evicted the troublesome Kaliya Nāga from the Yamuna pool, thereby making the area fit for human habitation. The well-known image of the baby Krishna dancing on the head of Kaliya Nāga comes from this myth. Nāgas are mentioned throughout the Upanishads, the Mahabharata and the Jatakas (see for example Sinha 1979). The Tibetan Bön text, the 'Klu bum' deals with the more than 100,000 Klu (the Tibetan term for serpent deities) whose responsibilities

include the protection and revelation of secret texts (see Tucci 1980). *Lu* (the Sherpa term for serpent deities) are of fundamental importance in the day-to-day affairs of the Sherpas of Solu-Khumbu, Nepal. The art of the Gupta period, exemplified in the temples at Ajanta, contains many examples of *nāgas* and *nāga* worship.

Early Greek travellers to India returned with tales of enormous snakes worshipped as Gods. The diaries of the early 5th century Chinese traveller Fa Hien contain many references to *nāgas*. Fergusson (1866) tells of a sighting of a *nāga* at Sumbulpore in 1766 by Mr. Motte. Vogel (1926) tells of a *nāga* cult at Khas in 1875 which has a striking resemblance to the events at Char Ghare. Evidence still remains today of flourishing *nāga* cults in South India and Sri Lanka.

15. At Budhanilkantha in the Kathmandu Valley, Vishnu is represented sleeping on a bed of *nāgas* (Sesha *Nāga*). Earthquakes are sometimes explained in terms of the occasional restlessness of *nāgas*.
16. Perhaps the most famous of Buddhist creation myths is the *Swayambhū Purāṇa* (see Bajracharya and Smith 1978) which describes the role played by *nāgas* in creation. Hindu accounts of the origins of the valley also stress the significance of the role played by the *nāgas*. The earliest references to *nāgas* in the sacred literature (e.g., in the opening book *Adiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*) suggest that the origin of *nāgas* is in the Himalayas. (See Sinha 1979; Fergusson 1886).
17. Lists of *nāgas* vary considerably. Fergusson (1886) claims to have come across over 5,000 different *nāgas* in the literature. In the *Swayambhū Purāṇa* alone over 200 are mentioned. According to Slusser (1982) there are 9 main *nāgas* in the Kathmandu Valley, each with its own particular personality, colour association, recognised dwelling places, etc. Karkot *Nāga* is recognised as the *Nāgaraja* or King of *Nāgas* in the Valley. Other important *nāgas* include *Seṣha*, *Vāsukī* and *Śaṅkha Nāga*. While there was no definite consensus on this matter, the *nāgas* at Chār Ghare were thought to be manifestations of *Śaṅkha Nāga*. In the *Divyāvadāna*, *Śaṅkha* is said to be the name of the future king whose family priest, *Brahmāyu*, will become the father of Maitreya Buddha. *Nāgas* overlap with another classification of *devta* - *yakṣa* - also important to the earth's fertility. Very little has been written about *Yakṣa* however in the ethnography of religion in the Kathmandu Valley.
18. Perhaps the best known of these are the pond at Naxal, the temple at Dakshinkali where sacrifices are made, the shrine at *Nāgasthan* and, of course the Sleeping Vishnu at Budhanilkantha. Taudaha lake, in the south of the Valley, is said to be the home of Karkot *nāga*.

19. Haribodhini Ekadasi is celebrated in November, at the end of the monsoon, at Budhanilkantha. Rato Machhendranath involves the procession of a huge chariot to which offerings are made to ensure rains and agricultural productivity. This festival is linked with a 12-year drought caused by the imprisonment of nāgas by Gorakhnāth, a disciple of Machhendranath. To end the drought the king of the day sought the aid of Machhendranāth and Karkot Nāga who evicted Gorakhnāth, thus setting the nāgas free and causing it to rain. At the climax of the festival a vest is displayed to the public - this vest is said to be a gift from Karkot nāga to a *baidya* (healer) who agreed to cure Karkot's wife of a chronic eyesore.
20. This association is common throughout South Asia (e.g., in Kashmir and the Kulu Valley in India; See Vogel (1926)).
21. A fine example can be seen at the pond in Naxal, N.E. of Kathmandu town.
22. Slusser (1982) discusses how the '12 year well' opposite the shrine of Musun-bahal Maitreya is still opened at times of impending drought in order to set the nāgas free and therefore causing it to rain.
23. See for example the myth dealing with Gorakhnāth and Machhendranāth, (discussed briefly above in footnote 19). See also the legend of King Divodāsa.
24. The pool at Kumbeswor in Patan is an important example. Each year at the *Janai Purnima* festival thousands of pilgrims come to this pool to pay homage to a Siva lingam sheathed in a golden nāga. This nāga dates from at least the Lichhavi period.
25. At the conclusion of the Rato Machhendranāth festival the display of the vest (given by Karkot nāga to a *baidya* in return for curing his wife of an eyesore) must be accompanied by a light shower of rain to indicate the presence of nāgas. Many worshippers at Chār Ghare commented on experiencing such a shower (see above).
26. See Slusser (1982). There is some fascinating research to be done in the area of mapping the various dimensions of underworld cosmography (e.g., the relation between Gosainkundā, Budhanilkantha and Kumbeswor; or even between Budhanilkantha and Chār Ghare). Such research could be aided by discussions with water diviners in the Valley and perhaps by measurements of ionisation. Further fascinating areas for exploration might be the link with Chinese geomancy (see Bajracharya and Smith 1978) and with the geography of pilgrimage in the Valley.
27. A fascinating area for future research lies in the relation between the nāga (more prevalent in the flatter, lowerlying areas of Nepal and India) and the dragon or *duk* (more prevalent in the higher

mountain areas of Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet). The dragon is often associated with the male, yang aspect in Tibetan Buddhist symbolism while the nāga is associated more with the female, yin aspect. The dragon might be said to represent vertical connections while the nāga represents more horizontal connections. While on this subject, there is much research yet to be done on the Tibetan form of nāga i.e., *Klu* and such variants as the Sherpa *Lu* (which so profoundly influence day-to-day village and domestic life and well-being).

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*The Anthropology of Development in Nepal: A Review Article
on Foreign Aid Projects in the Kathmandu Valley*

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Bhaktapur: A Town Changing by Ane Haaland (Kathmandu: Bhaktapur Development Project, 1982), 130 pages, photographs.

Kirtipur, A Newar Community in Nepal: Development in Debate by E.P. Davies, R.W. Davis, W.R. Flinn, et al. (Bristol, 1980), 119 pages.

Expatriate Assisted Community Development as a Possibility in Kirtipur by the Kirtipur Programme (Kathmandu, 1982), 87 pages, appendices, in mimeograph.

International development in third world countries represents one of the most important forces of modern change across the globe. Motivated both by humanitarian and political considerations, vast resources are being marshalled to eliminate disease, poverty, and ignorance, especially in the world's poor hinterlands. The Kingdom of Nepal has received foreign aid for over thirty years, a sum which amounted to over \$ 82 million in fiscal 1978-79 alone (National Planning Commission 1982). Measuring the results by standards such as population control, literacy, or industrial production reveals that progress in most areas has been very meagre (Johnson 1983).

There are, of course, many interlocking reasons for this: the legacy of Rana era underdevelopment, limitations on a land-locked country, constraints imposed by the mountain terrain, and the socio-cultural complexity of the country. There are also other factors, and not the least of these is the poor performance of international development projects. Despite large expenditures and sincere intentions, the legacy of planned development endeavor since 1951 has often been marginal.

In this article, my goal is to shed light on why this has been so by articulating an anthropological viewpoint of the development process. I seek to demonstrate the importance of addressing the full panoply of human factors that condition every foreign aid endeavor in Nepal. To this end, I examine a number of recent publications on development projects done in Newar communities in the Kathmandu Valley to reflect on these issues and to comment specifically on their content.

My own background in anthropology informs this effort and should be mentioned at the outset. I have chosen this particular literature because of my familiarity with Kathmandu Valley society. I did exten-

sive ethnographic research there from 1979 to 1982, and frequently visited Bhaktapur and Kirtipur, cities where the development projects considered in this review were located. In 1980, I also worked briefly as a consultant to the Bhaktapur Development Project, where I did applied research and worked with the staff, including the author of *Bhaktapur*, to develop their cultural awareness. I found this to be an extremely valuable but ultimately disillusioning experience and this article is, in part, my summation of it.

My long-term residence in Kathmandu also led to extensive contact with all types of development workers and their projects. I developed a broad network of acquaintances within the expatriate community and also with professional Nepalis. With both, I often talked as friend and anthropologist about their work. Some encouraged me to write this article because they felt the need for serious perceptions in the development world. While this article is fully my own, it must speak for them because it would be hazardous to their careers if they were to speak openly on some of the culturally and politically delicate issues raised in this review.

It is my conviction that investing in an anthropological perspective can help change the pattern of underperformance in Nepal's attempts to modernize. Referring development analysis and action to the common man's perspective, carefully defining social networks and processes, being clear on the cultural assumptions of donors and recipients, and focusing on the individual human factors that move international bureaucracies -- all these must be addressed for development efforts in Nepal to be successful. The time should long be past when projects can be naive about socio-cultural realities or send in amateurs to design and implement critical efforts involving human survival. Poorly conceived or administered development projects should no longer be an excuse for the persistence of underdevelopment.

Books that describe development project case studies are rare indeed. All too often, international agencies in this field do not make their project documents available to outsiders, and this hinders one from discovering an organization's working definition of a development problem, their assessment of the accuracy of projections by their experts and consultants, or how well their plans were then implemented in reality. Recently, three books have appeared that report on development efforts in Bhaktapur and Kirtipur. Although each is different in scope and intention, they all point to the obstacles faced in the planned modernization of Nepal and the problems involved in shaping worthwhile development programmes there.

I

In 1974, the Federal Republic of Germany sponsored the first major development effort in Bhaktapur, a project designed to "tackle the economic and social problems of the town and to preserve the valuable cultural heritage (BDP 1979: vii)." In its early years, the Bhaktapur Development Project (hereafter "BDP") concentrated primarily on restoring

important architectural monuments, temples, resthouses, and historic buildings in the northeast section of the town, and began constructing a modern water and sewerage system. Ane Haaland's book, *Bhaktapur: A Town Changing*, was written to document the BDP's transition from technical restoration to a community development project, a move forced, in part, by the local populations' protests against aspects of the first phase of its performance. The author describes this transition as "what happened to a town where neither change nor status quo was an acceptable path to follow (p. 2)."

The BDP deserves praise for at least the impulse to publish such a document and thereby share its learning experience. As the author says in the preface, the book reflects the collective wisdom of the project, and this must be kept in mind while evaluating her description of Newar traditions in Bhaktapur and her presentation of the project's efforts there. The goal is noble and some of the questions raised are important, but the book is neither accurate with regard to the Newars and Bhaktapur, nor is it candid when describing the project itself. We are left instead with little more than a project's public relations document.

One important theme woven through *Bhaktapur* is its criticism of projects that are run by technocrats who see development in simplistic mechanistic terms. No one disputes the author's plea for projects sensitive to their specific community, though this straightforward proposition has for decades been propounded as common sense by applied anthropologists (e.g. Foster 1969). When Haaland applies herself to this very task in Bhaktapur, however, she consistently fails to understand the Newar community or to describe accurately the project's attempts to involve it. These failures are instructive.

When providing the historical background or describing the nature of local society, Haaland is often inaccurate. The book attempts to synthesize Nepalese history, Hindu-Buddhist culture, and Newar society, but there are many historical inaccuracies: e.g., Newars did not invent the pagoda temple (p. 11), the Malla dynasty cannot be dated back to the eleventh century (p. 11), nor the Buddha to "2525 BC" (p. 44), nor is it known that "Newars were originally Buddhist" (p. 14), nor did the Ranas "overthrow Prithivi Narayan Shah in 1846 (p. 12)." In addition to the sheer factual sloppiness of the text, misspellings, bad syntax, and a poor bibliography also discourage the reader.

The presentation of the Bhaktapur Newars is even more misleading. The author suggests that Bhaktapur farmers do not support vocational training (p. 35); that all craftsmen in the community have low status (p. 15), ignoring the high caste of metal workers; and she asserts that Newar children "suffer the absence of toys (other than selfmade)" (p. 16), a strange ethnocentric statement.

More troubling is the treatment of women and religion. As recent studies have shown (Pradhan 1981), farmer caste Newar women enjoy a level of freedom and power rarely seen in the Indian subcontinent. Haaland, however, drearily recites old South Asian development stereo-

types: "women do not have much to say; it is expected that they know their place...(p.14)." Newar Hinduism receives similarly simplistic treatment with the author stating that, "material progress is secondary. Spiritual progress is the most important, and the purpose of living is personal evolution" (p. 44). This elitist assertion stands in contrast to behavioral data she herself cites which shows Newars to have "a here and now society" (p. 25) characterized by individual enterprise. But we should see these portrayals for what they are: surviving colonial explanations held in readiness by development workers for the moment when they must account for their failures by shifting the blame back to the alleged ideological intransigence of the local population.

Carelessness in these matters is not trivial. When sketching the large picture or recounting the small details, the author displays the BDP's misperceptions and cultural biases. Getting a people's history and culture right reflects a certain measure of respect and appreciation for them and their world view. What is doubly disconcerting here is that the author did not utilize the Bhaktapur project's own documents in these very fields(2). This illustrates the troubling fact that development workers are not always willing to make the effort to understand local society, even neglecting the work done within their own institutions in the very place they are working. Not to use the legacy of insight represented by a project's collective historical experience, i.e. its culture, is a serious handicap. Lacking such memory, later planners and administrators often "reinvent the wheel," wasting time and undermining project efficiency. There is also little excuse for anyone's ignorance about Nepalese society and culture, given the vast literature of published studies that is now available.

Perhaps the most striking failures of understanding are found in the discussion of economic changes at work in Bhaktapur, a topic one would assume to be clearly understood in the collective wisdom of a "development project." Haaland attributes the economic decline of Bhaktapur to "the closure of the Tibetan border in 1959 (p. 8)," whereas trade with the north through Bhaktapur had effectively declined over fifty years earlier.

The author also underplays the fact that Bhaktapur's former prosperity was dependent on its role as an economic center for surrounding village areas, especially those to the east, and that this position was undermined by the new road-transportation networks that favored Kathmandu. The BDP itself recommended that the southern outskirts of town where the main highway passes *not be developed*, a fact that undoubtedly contributed to the city's failure to exploit its location as a trade center (BDP 1978). Stopping the natural economic evolution of the city because it violates the "museum approach" to the town was a recurring error in the BDP logic. Its planners failed to comprehend that unless enough new local wealth is generated, the local economy can never maintain the temples, houses, and monasteries which it has so carefully restored.

In this same area, the author states that commuters represent a problem for Bhaktapur's growth because they are "exporting innovative talent that is badly needed for the development of its own city" (p. 36). This distorted perception -- which is also reproduced in cartoon form on page 28 -- contradicts her statement elsewhere that cites unemployment as a major problem in Bhaktapur (p. 36). It is highly misleading to portray Bhaktapur's older generation as being hostile to the young finding employment in Kathmandu, as is suggested here. The Project apparently failed to see these commuters' wages as a resource and their success in the capital's labour force as an indication of their effective adaptation to modern political-economic change in the Valley. These examples, chosen from a list of many more, reveal gaps and distortions in the Project's awareness, although in some places they are magnified by the author's factual sloppiness.

Bhaktapur does not improve when it turns to documenting the change in focus from restoration to community development. Haaland asserts that there was a fundamental alteration in the Project's mission: from domination by foreign experts in all crucial decision-making, to designing BDP assistance centered on the priorities of local neighborhood communities. There are passages that assess the Project's problems with refreshing candor. However, Haaland's brief "analysis" of these is merely a list of the possible reasons for failure, rather than the articulation of a convincing critical assessment. Notably lacking is a coherent representation of the Bhaktapur community as a politically organized entity responding to the BDP, a fundamental fact of life that cannot be ignored when discussing the reality of development project work, however sensitive the topic might be.

When reporting on the departmental adjustments in the "revamped project," the language turns to bureaucratese and the full picture is not presented. In many places, the author omits critical details from the presentation. Because of this, I have selected case studies mentioned in the book that require additional information and commentary to complete the reader's understanding of the development reality in Bhaktapur.

1. *Housing.* In housing, the BDP put its prestige on the line by having the local government pass ordinances that legally limited the Newars' freedom to rebuild their houses with new designs and with newer building materials -- corrugated iron, cement, etc. (BDP 1978). The project thought that town residents could be coerced into foregoing architectural change by legally relegating them to their own past. Despite these laws, residents have continued to rebuild using the proscribed designs and materials because they refuse to live inefficiently or as if in a museum. The BDP, of course, had to back down on such unrealistic demands and as a result, all involved in the process looked foolish.
2. *Restorations.* Local regard for the project was also undermined by the BDP's initial restorations, done *gratis* on the most historic houses in town, for the most part buildings owned by the richest

people. Both of these matters represented flagrant -- but seemingly unrecognized -- assaults on the principle of fairness to the middle and lower classes of Bhaktapur. This type of class insensitivity hindered other areas of BDP work, especially in school building and in commercial development. Haaland refers to the problem here as a "large communication gap" when in fact they represent an "understating crevasse", the natural result of a poorly conceived Project policy.

3. *Water Systems.* The most distorted impression Bhaktapur gives is in the area of public works (i.e. "infrastructure"): the drinking water and sewer systems. Although the author focuses on the public health problems and the heroic efforts made by those who dug up the streets, we find little exploration of the BDP plan's logic or its implementation. In this domain we can see how the Project, when it finally got out of the drawing room and onto street level, so often misread the situation and failed to interact successfully with the realities in Bhaktapur. Because this particular failure provides a valuable case study in ethnocentric development design, implementation, and systemic failure, I will discuss it at greater length.

Unacknowledged is the fact that the public works design erred in channeling rainwater into the sewer system, thereby depriving an essential resource from farmers owning some of the best rice fields just outside town. And nowhere is it mentioned that the affected farmers soon remedied the situation by breaking open the waste pipes, making a mockery of the basic public health principles -- endorsed by subsequent official project statements (see page 85 ff) -- of separating people from their parasite-contaminated water. In 1982, when the city had over 50% of the Project's water system intact, most taps ran for shorter periods than before the BDP work began. Nor have expensive group toilets, imposed initially without consulting local women, been accepted. Nor is there room for an adequate waste treatment facility south of town, an omission that compromises the entire sewerage system. Those neatly repaired streets of Bhaktapur that delight the tourist cover a most illconceived public works infrastructure.

Still other important questions arise. One would like to know why such a costly and energy-inefficient sewerage system that uses large quantities of groundwater was emphasized instead of methane ("bio-gas") systems that produces usable cooking gas and safe natural fertilizer. This is an especially important issue for two reasons: first, Himalayan deforestation -- caused partly by the need to supply cities like Bhaktapur with wood fuel -- poses a cataclysmic threat to the region's eco-system (Wallace 1982); and second, chemical fertilizers have become a burdensome expense for the average Newar farmer(3). Rather than address these issues, the BDP planners chose the easiest, most conservative and ethnocentric option: building a Western-style system that does not even work on its own terms and ignores the long-term issues of ecology,

energy, and survival in the region. Contrary to Haaland's account, the Bhaktapur public works is perceived as a success only by those engineers who were employed in designing and implementing it.

By omitting these facts and considerations, *Bhaktapur* shows itself to be a public relations document, not an objective work of factual reporting. Although the book frequently speaks of the ideal of the BDP's "cultural sensitivity," here too it is hard to accept the author's portrayal of this commitment. Evaluating the Project's performance, one finds a legacy of insensitivity and a persistent failure to interact well with the community. For example, Haaland conveys an inflated image of the BDP's commitment to learning the Newari language, an obvious step that would have helped build greater rapport with the community. From the Project's inception, no one on the project's regular "foreign expert" staff learned to speak Newari, and few even spoke Nepali. Throughout its history, the foreign staff of the BDP was forced to rely on translators and various middlemen to know the town. Language is an essential component in cross-cultural interaction and is easily the best medium for knowing a place and its people. In her discussion, however, Haaland exaggerates the BDP's accomplishment(4) and overlooks the implications of this most fundamental "communication gap."

4. *Intra-Project Relations*, *Bhaktapur* does not really analyze the crucial issue of relations between foreigners and their Nepalese counterparts, i.e. Nepali staff assigned to work alongside the foreign experts. From my experience, the importance of this aspect of development projects in Nepal is clear if one speaks to Nepalis who have worked alongside foreign development workers. The job disparities and miscommunication between foreigners and Nepalis figure prominently in their analyses of why development projects often operate poorly or turn to folly. For years now, educated Nepalis have observed very highly paid Westerners come into Nepal who do not learn to speak their language and who hardly understand the society in which they are working. As a result, cultural differences cause misunderstandings that hinder institutional relations, distort project planning, and handicap implementation. In the Bhaktapur project's history, this was a very important issue, but the author does not explore it seriously(5).

One key question that *Bhaktapur* does address is what kind of background is suitable for development workers. Haaland shows the difficulties a project encounters when it is dominated by technocrats, and she reaches some valuable conclusions as to why professionals with technical expertise are not necessarily suited for assuming leadership roles in development projects. Whatever else the BDP legacy teaches us on development, this lesson is secure.

But who, then, should be directing these projects? Here the author exemplifies the standard development establishment response, paying lip-service to the ideal of socio-cultural awareness while

whowing that she does not really understand what this commitment means. Haaland states that it is "dogmatic" to think "that understanding the basis of how the religion functions... is a prerequisite for doing a good job in development (p. 48)." To understand a people and their culture, how could religion not be a central concern? To appreciate a community's ultimate values, its ethos, and the underlying bases of its social norms -- the very things that development projects must grapple with -- requires nothing less than a thoroughgoing awareness of the local religious tradition.

Bhaktapur refuses to endorse social scientists as key actors in development and ignores one of the chief reasons for the BDP's poor performance. Given their very ambitious plans for this vastly complex town of over 50,000 inhabitants, it is really astonishing that the BDP virtually ignored social scientific expertise in designing and implementing their work. The Project's ignorance of the local society and culture and of the Newar notion of "common sense" caused many blunders that undermined relations and cooperation: garbage receptacles were placed too close to temple precincts, normal Newar ceremonial conventions were not followed when project restorations were begun, and early project plans were made without establishing relations with the most fundamental community groups, the *guthis*. The key lesson of the BDP experience is that social scientific awareness should be at the centre of development projects, from start to finish, for these are literally the facts of life that affect the entire development interaction. For projects not to base their plans accordingly is both foolish and irresponsible. The misconceptions that pervade Ane Haaland's book dramatically illustrate how serious this problem was in *Bhaktapur*. The profound troubles experienced in *Bhaktapur* indicate that projects can quickly exhaust the generous measure of initial trust that the Nepalese population grants to their employees and their well-intentioned plans. I wonder if the legacy of insensitivity and failure may alter this and hinder future efforts.

Another major problem area in international development that *Bhaktapur* hardly mentions is the internal functioning of the sponsoring agencies. The bureaucracies of projects such as the BDP are run *de facto* by balancing two competing agendas: one imposed by foreign consultants desiring to sustain lucrative contracts and another dictated by conditions "on the ground" that require expertise in local matters. All too often, the institutional agenda controls and dominates a project's performance, and the way project work is pieced together through time produces an institutional fragmentation that makes it possible for no one person to take responsibility for the process. When one group formulates plans and succeeding waves of programme officers proceed with implementation, each can shift the blame for shortcomings to the other. Rarely do real performance evaluations, coming years later, affect the individual careers of the planners or the field workers(6). In the oral lore of international development in Kathmandu, there are many

such examples of the individual ambition of consultants overriding the reality of project needs.

In conclusion, *Bhaktapur* provides neither a coherent account of a great Newar city nor the full story of this well-known development project. The shortcomings and omissions do provide case studies in why projects fail and reveal what the ready legitimations are that development workers so often provide to account for them.

II

Kirtipur, A Newar Community in Nepal: Development in Debate (hereafter "*Kirtipur*"), the product of a research team from Bristol University, is a socio-cultural reconnaissance of the Valley's fourth-largest city. In full contrast to *Bhaktapur*, this small volume is meant to be a reflective preface to any development efforts undertaken there. It is modest in content, provides a general overview to life in Kirtipur, and is illustrated with fine photographs and well-rendered drawings.

The volume is most successful at giving the reader a sense of place and at sketching the rich texture of Newar society in Kirtipur. As such, it is a notable contribution to the field of Kathmandu Valley studies. The "surface ethnography" is as good as one could expect from a six-month research project. For example, the map overviews of Kirtipur's architectural monuments (12.13) and caste settlements (52.3) provide important ethnographic documentation. Although limited to a small sample, information on several Kirtipur *guthis* reveals how these central institutions have fared in modern times. Finally, the research group investigated local production and the town's complex economic networks, the proper foundation for planning development work. The economic profile moves from agriculture to the many subfields of small scale production -- carpentry, smithing, weaving, tailoring -- to inform us as to how the town sustains itself.

As with *Bhaktapur*, the historical information provided on the Newars is embarrassingly incorrect in places: there is no data to support the assertion that the Kiratas ruled the Valley in the seventh century B.C. (p. 15), nor is Gupta rule in India (320 - 540 A.D.) dated correctly or linked by any evidence to the "introduction of the monarchical system of government and Hindu rule [in Nepal]" (p. 16). When the authors assert that Nepali "bears no linguistic relation to Newari," (p. 104), they ignore the mutual overlap in vocabularies and the common influence of Sanskrit. Here and in other places, *Kirtipur* overemphasizes the separateness of Newar culture from Pahari society and culture.

But this book is not to be judged by the strictest scholarly criteria. Although at its weakest when recounting Newar history and attempting broader socio-cultural analyses, *Kirtipur* succeeds in constructing a useful overview. In efficient, summary fashion, it informs us about Kirtipur as town, home, and community in order to make recommendations on how life might be enhanced there. At the end of each section

describing these aspects, the authors make specific suggestions on what the most important changes could be. The content here is pragmatic, idealistic, sensitive to socio-cultural preservation, and committed to maximizing local decision-making.

Kirtipur's emphasis on the town's economy allows the authors to speak authoritatively on what the nature of development work there should be. The only exception I would take to their analysis is in their regarding local residents' employment in Kathmandu and Patan as a problem (p. 88), a misconception also found in *Bhaktapur*. Isolated, self-sufficient communities are inappropriate models both for depicting the Valley's past and for guiding modern development. Commuting seems to be an inevitable aspect of economic development, and the only way for settlements which are now off the main trade arteries -- like *Bhaktapur* and *Kirtipur* -- to survive is to pursue economic strategies that link them firmly to the employment networks in a changing Nepal. Transit links should be strengthened since commuting will certainly help *Kirtipur* retain these salaries in the local community.

The refreshing thing about *Kirtipur* is that it approaches development holistically, free from any donor's pre-existing institutional framework. The weakness, though, is that the recommendations seem unrealistic at times, especially in political terms. The book shows what a sound social science foundation can do to inform the debate about how to shape the process of modern change: it is the survey and assessment that the *Bhaktapur Development Project* ought to have done, but never did. Because of its sensitivity to the need for well-informed development initiatives attentive to the local milieu, *Kirtipur* is an important statement on what projects should know and what integrated development can be in modern Nepal. The statement "issues of Development" (p. 5) should join *Planning for People* (Stiller and Yadav 1979) as required reading for all involved in development projects in Nepal.

III

Although the least fancy of the three publications (lacking pictures, in mimeograph form, and without careful stylistic and editorial refinement), *Expatriate Assisted Community Development as a Possibility in Kirtipur* (hereafter "*Kirtipur II*") gives the best sense of what development really entails "on the ground." The book narrates the efforts made by a team of four young graduates from Bristol, U.K., who followed in the footsteps of the authors of *Kirtipur*. Because of its fearless honesty, especially when recounting the team's blunders, this book takes the reader effectively into the local reality of development work and helps him identify with the team's learning process.

For one year, the group lived in a Newar household in *Kirtipur* with two objectives. First, they sought to evaluate how expatriates could act as motivators for community development and serve as middlemen shepherding outside monies into town. Second, they also aimed at assessing a number of specific avenues in which a development project could

move, such as irrigation, school building, water supply, latrines, weaving, etc.. The book consists of 153 statements organized under these two objectives and follows the group through its year.

In places, *Kirtipur II* reads like a novel, as good intentions crash into hard realities. The authors thoughtfully offer many issues to ponder, ones that underline the need for a better understanding of the human elements in the development process. A number can be discussed here.

1. *Caste and Community*

The team realizes that caste settlements are not single communities, that high and low castes have different powers, interests, and perceptions, and that cross-caste class consciousness cannot be assumed to exist among the disadvantaged. Despite national laws that have outlawed caste discrimination, the legacy of caste hierarchies profoundly conditions the actualities of development project endeavor in South Asia. A number of recent studies have underlined just this point for Nepal (e.g. Schuler 1985; Justice 1983; Justice 1981).

2. *Political Realities*

Another important insight in *Kirtipur II* is that development workers are necessarily aligned with existing political authorities in a locality and that their projects cannot escape from being involved in local politics. Unlike *Bhaktapur*, where this critical fact of life goes virtually unmentioned, *Kirtipur II* chronicles the team's slow awakening to the fact that to be effective they must coordinate their work with the *pradhan panchas* of the town. They realize that ultimately their project's presence falls under the government representative's jurisdiction and that his role can either be to assist project work or to crush it.

3. *The Development World as Frontier*

In their report, we also find a good case study in the individualistic, often idealistic, "frontier mentality" that many development workers commonly enter the Third World with, a mindset that is often ill-suited to the necessary task of channeling outside money and expertise into a local community. The team initially assumes that it is "above" the local political arena, that they are actors somehow free to remake local destiny. This turns out to be an illusion. Through their account, we can see that great attention must be paid to how development workers practice "impression management" (Berreman 1972) with the local society, and to the fact that projects impose new institutions in a society. *Kirtipur II*'s message is clear: each development initiative represents a social experiment that planners ignore at the risk of compromising their entire operation.

4. *Commitment to Research Foundations*

Old hands in development will doubtless find naive the authors' recommendation that extensive research precede actual development project work. The team calls for a minimum of two years' research on the local situation, longterm commitments by both foreign and Nepali personnel, and the staff's residence in the local community. They also call for the greatest possible fluency with the local culture, especially in language. Their case study presentations on an irrigation canal, schools, latrines, and their research on the possibility of marketing traditional weaving designs illustrate the point convincingly that an outsider's common sense is not enough. Each of these examples show how multi-layered old traditions are and how difficult it is to change a complex society. They also undermine the old hand's derision of extensive research as a prelude to development planning and long-term conduct. In the long run, of course, this approach is the most cost-effective, although it may be inconvenient for international agencies.

5. *Development Workers as Middlemen*

Perhaps the most important insight to be derived from *Kirtipur II* is that those working in development must be regarded as *middlemen* who mediate between the common people and the institutions of both the central and donor governments. This is an especially difficult role as it entails living in two (or more) worlds, requires knowledge of both sides, and involves simultaneously advancing two or more often separate agendas. True balancing here is especially difficult: the institutional arrangements may hinder an individual's engaging the local society effectively, or, at the other extreme, foster unrealistic urges to reform local society overnight. The danger of overplaying the local side of the middleman's role lies in establishing ineffective or unrepresentative linkages with a community. Becoming too identified with any one group, especially the wealthy elite, can undermine any development initiative and invite failure. It takes insight and skill to walk the middleman's line.

One final valuable discussion in *Kirtipur II* concerns the difficulties the authors faced as foreigners living in a different cultural milieu. The team estimates that illhealth cut their productivity by at least 25% and that in the course of their work they often felt personally disoriented. Development agencies should pay great attention to the issue of persistent culture shock and the psychological stress of living simultaneously in multiple worlds, for it is common for individuals residing for long periods in a foreign culture to experience periods of personal vertigo. Very often, the institutional policies of international agencies heighten this sense, as individuals must move daily between two different worlds in language, at the office, and at home(7).

IV

In this review, I have identified a wide spectrum of anthropological concerns on the development process that point clearly to the need for projects to acquire a thorough awareness of local society and culture, understand the legacy of recent history, devote attention to their institutional arrangements, and show great concern for the human variables that make every development worker a crosscultural mediator. Agencies and governments must deal with the fact that when they intervene in a society they are facing deeply entrenched socio-cultural realities. These must be fully comprehended, just as project work must proceed with empathy, insight, and sympathetic imagination. Development is a cross-cultural interaction, from start to finish, and often this entails a clash between older cultural wholes and new innovations. The anthropological perspective on development asserts that the more we attend to the human variables present on all sides of this interaction, the better and more humane the result will be.

NOTES

1. The author is a Research Associate at the Southern Asian Institute, Columbia University. Special thanks go to those who reviewed and criticized the manuscript, especially Theodore Riccardi, Jr., David Rothman, Peter Montiel, and Robin Jared Lewis.
2. Background information on Newar society and on Bhaktapur is presented in a more coherent form by the Project's *Bhaktapur Twon Development Plan* (BDP 1979) and *Cultural Handbook* (BDP 1980), an extensive anthology (33 pages) of historical, social, and cultural studies begun in 1980. Many of the factual errors could have been avoided had the author read these documents and utilized them.
3. A recent study by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization estimated that the Kathmandu Valley used over 120,000 tons of firewood annually.
4. The Newari language study programme that the author lauds was in fact discontinued before *Bhaktapur* went to press.
5. There are even cultural insensitivities in this book itself: several line drawings in *Bhaktapur* insulted Nepalis who had seen them. The caste characterizations on page 16 and the portrait of the dishonest doctor on page 40 should never have been published in any book, much less this one. One wonders whether the author was even aware of the misguided messages conveyed by these inappropriate images.
6. Nor do agencies routinely support critical follow-up studies to measure the successes and see what can be learned from the past. As a result, feedback is often short-circuited and projects learn little from past errors.

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7. Those in the development field concerned with this issue should consult the rather extensive literature in anthropology that deals with the personal difficulties of coping with fieldwork (e.g. Berreman 1972; Arensberg and Niehoff 1964; Francis and Saberwal 1969).

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"आचार्य दीपङ्कर श्रोतान (अतीशा)को तिब्बत यात्राः एक नयाँ अध्ययन"

रमेश ढुङ्गेल

बुद्धधर्मको इतिहासमा आचार्य दीपङ्करको स्थान ज्यादै उल्लेखनीय छ। उनले बुद्धधर्मका विख्यात आचार्य शान्तराजित जन्मिएँ राजवंशमा जन्म लिइएका थिए। उनी उत्तर भारतमा अवस्थित प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध शिक्षाकेन्द्र विक्रमशीलमहाविहारका महापण्डित मध्येका एक प्रतिष्ठित महापण्डित थिए। दीपङ्करले भारतमा मात्र सीमित नरही नेपाल हुँदै विश्वका सर्वोच्च हिमशिखरहरू पारगई तिब्बती भूखण्डमा समेत प्रवेश गरेर बुद्धधर्मको प्रचार प्रसार गरेका इतिहास हाम्रो अगाडि स्पष्ट छ। त्यसैले तिब्बतका विद्वान् भिक्षुहरूको बोचमा श्रीज्ञानको निकै ठूलो सम्मान छ। यिनलाई तिब्बतीहरू अतीशा अथवा जो-बो-जे (स्वामि भट्टारक) मन्द-छन्। (राहुल १९६०:२०७)। आचार्य दीपङ्करको विषयमा जानकारी प्राप्त गर्ने उनका चेलाहरूद्वारा लिखित जीवनचरित्र, बुद्धधर्मका विभिन्न धर्म ग्रन्थहरू लगायत वृत्तान्तहरू समेत पाइ-सका छन्। (डोम्-तोन् रचित 'गुरु गुण धर्माकर सुम्-पारचित पाग्-साम्-जोम्-जाङ', देव-थेर-ङोन्पो, देव थेर मार-पो आदि) यिनै प्रीतिहरूको आधारमा दर्जनौं मन्दा वढी विद्वान्हरूले आचार्य दीपङ्कर र उनको तिब्बत यात्रा विषयमा कलम चलाएका छन्। जसमध्ये एस.सि. दास, पि.स्. वोस, जि. रोइक, सिल्भा लेभो, जुसेप टुवो, एस. के. चटर्जो, आर.सि. मजुन्दार, राहुल सांकृत्यायन, एस.सि.सरकार, डि. सि. भट्टाचार्य, अलका चट्टोपाध्याय आदि उल्लेखनीय छन्। यी वाहेक तिब्बतको धर्म र इतिहास विषयमा कलम चलाउने सबैजसो विद्वान्हरूले अतीशाको विषयमा थोरै बहुत लेखेका हुन्छन्। आज यस विषयमा अनुसन्धान हुन-शालेको पनि शताब्दी मन्दा वढी भैसकेको छ। तर अतीशाको तिब्बत यात्राको वाटो र नेपालको घटना विषयमा चाहिँ सबै विद्वान्हरू अलमलमै परेको महशुस हुन्छ। यसबाट थोरै बहुत नेपालको इतिहासमा पनि असर परिरहेको छ। त्यसैले यस विषयको प्रमलाइ हटाएर वास्तविकतालाई प्रकाश पार्ने यस लेखको उद्देश्य रहेको छ।

विषय प्रवेश

इशाको स्यारौं शताब्दीको मध्य तिरको कुरा हो उत्तर भारतको विक्रमशील महाविहार-का एक महापण्डित दीपङ्कर (अतीशा) को गुणको वर्णन छिटो मन्दा छिटो बौद्ध जगतमा फैलिइरहेको थियो। यसको फलस्वरूप पश्चिम तिब्बत डोरी प्रदेश गुंगेका राजा ल्हा-लामा-ये-से-होए (देव गुरु ज्ञान प्रम) ले पहिलोपल्ट तिब्बत दोत्रका जनताको उद्धारका लागि महा-पण्डितलाई ल्याउन निम्तो दिएर ग्या मन्ने ठाउका चोन दुए सेङ्गे (वीर्य सिंह) मन्ने



दोभाषे भिदुलाई १६ द्रोण सुन सहित विक्रमशोलमा पठास्का धिए। (चट्टोपाध्याय १६८१: ४१३) तर दोपङ्करले विभिन्न कारण देखाइ तिब्बत जान इन्कार गरे। ग्या-चोन्को केही सिप लागेन र महापण्डितलाई तिब्बत ल्याउन नसकि दुःखित भएर तिब्बत फर्किए र सुन राजालाई फिर्ता दिए। (चट्टोपाध्याय, ४१३) यसरी राजा ज्ञान प्रभको महापण्डित अतीशालाई उनको मुलुकमा पु-याउने र देशमा बुद्ध धर्मको उद्धार गर्ने यो पहिलो प्रयास असफल भयो। तर राजा यस विषयमा यतिलेन चित्त बुझाएर वसेनन् उनी महापण्डितलाई तिब्बत नल्याइ नछोड्ने योजना बनाउन थाले र अफ बढी सुन सङ्कलन गर्न थाले। तर यसैवेला गार-लोग^१ द्वारा समाप्तिएर उनी बन्दी बनाइए। (चट्टोपाध्याय ४१४) ।

यस किसिमले धर्मात्मा राजा शत्रुपद्मावाट समातिस्कोले गुंगे दौत्रमा दुःखदाइ अवस्था सिर्जियो। स्कातिर बुद्धधर्मको अवस्था नाजुक भएहेको थियो भने अर्कोतर्फ धर्मको पुनरुद्धार गर्ने राजा शत्रुद्वारा समातिए। यसरी बन्दी बनाइस्का राजा ज्ञान प्रभलाई छोड्न गार-लोगका राजाले २ वटा शर्त राखेर ती शर्तहरू मध्ये कुनै एक पूरा गर्न भने। जुन शर्तहरू निम्न थिएः (१) कि राजा ज्ञानप्रभले बुद्धधर्म प्रतिको आस्था छाड्नु पर्ने वा (२) राजाको शरिर वरावर तौलको सुन उनका भतिजाहरूले गार-लोगलाई बुझाउनु पर्ने। पहिलो शर्त सजिलो थियो तर राजा ज्ञान प्रभको लागि असंभव। त्यसैले अब अर्को शर्त पुरा गर्ने तर्फ ज्ञान प्रभका भतिजा ज्याङ्-क्यु-होए (वोधि-मद्र) लागे। ज्याङ्-क्यु-होएलाई राहुलले खो-दे अर्थात् ज्ञान-प्रभको छोरा भनेकाहुन् (राहुलः १६७६:३४) तर उनका २ छोरा जसलाई जागराज र देवराज भनिन्थ्यो, दुवै भिदु भस्का थिए। (चट्टोपाध्याय १६८१: २८५) जेहोसु ज्ञान प्रभ पछिका राजा ज्याङ्-क्यु-होए (वोधि-मद्र) ले देशका विभिन्न दौत्रवाट सुन जम्मा गर्ने काम शुरू गरे। यहाँ सम्मकि, त्यस घटनाको समयमा लामाहरू माथि पनि कर लगाउनु पर्यो। जे-जसरी भए-पनि गार-लोगका राजाले माग गरे वमोजिमको सुन जम्मा भयो र वोधि-मद्रले राजा ज्ञान प्रभलाई सुन जम्मा भएको खबर पठाए। तर राजाले यो सुन मलाई छुटाउन खर्च गर्नेहेन यसले त महापण्डित अतीशालाई तिब्बतमा ल्याउने काम गर, जसबाट संपूर्ण तिब्बतको उद्धार हुन्छ भन्ने सल्लाह दिए। ज्ञान प्रभले म वृद्ध अवस्थामा पुगिसकेको व्यक्तिलाई छुटाउनु भन्दा महापण्डितलाई तिब्बतमा ल्याई खतम हुन लागेको धर्म (बुद्ध) उद्धार गर्ने वेला आएको छ भन्ने जवाफ दिए। (चट्टोपाध्याय: ४१४) यसरी बुद्धधर्म प्रतिको आस्था र महापण्डितलाई तिब्बत ल्याई त्यहाँ गिर्न लागेको धर्मको पुनरुद्धार गर्नको लागि ज्ञानप्रभले आफ्नो जीवनै अर्पण गरेको देखिन्छ। केही समय पछि राजा ज्ञानप्रभको बन्दीकै रूपमा मृत्युभयो। उनले आफ्नो अन्तिम अवस्थामा यदि महापण्डितलाई ल्याउन नसकेको अर्थात् अस्वीकार भएको खण्डमा उनले सिफा-रीश गरेका अरु कुनै पण्डितलाई भर्षणि ल्याउनु भनेका थिए। यसै अनुरूप राजा वोधिमद्रले

१. गार-लोगको उल्लेख पुराना ग्रीतमा पश्चिम तिब्बतको श्याङ्-शुङ् दौत्रसँगै भएको हुनाले त्यसैतिरको वोन्-पो पंथीहरूको रजौटी हुनुपर्दछ।

पनि कामगर्ने निर्णय गरौ भारतमा अध्ययन गरौ वसेका तिब्बती भिक्षु नागू-हो कुल-ठीम-ग्यालु-वा (जयशाल वा शोल विजय) लाइ जसरो मरणनि अतीशालाई तिब्बत ल्याउनु पर्छो, तिमोले आफ्नो देशको लागि सेवागर्ने अवसर आस्कोह भनि राजकीय पत्र पठार। जयशील २ वर्ष भारतमा अध्ययनको लागि वसिसकेका थिए र उनी संस्कृत भाषाअपनि जान्दथे। पहिले त उनले यस कठिन कामलाई आफ्नै पठन-पठनको कारण देखाई इन्कार गरे। राजा बोधि-मद्वले अर्को विशेष आशा र त्रास समेत दुवै देखाइ आज्ञाको खवर जयशीललाइ पठार। जसमा यो राजाको आज्ञा हो, यसलाइ अस्वीकार गर्नु भनेको मृत्यु हो, अर्कोतर्फ यदि योकाम पुरा भएमा ठूलो पुरस्कार दिइने साथै उनले इच्छाए वमोजीम तिब्बत वा भारत जहाँ मरणनि अध्ययन गर्ने व्यवस्था राज्यतर्फबाटै मिलाउने कुरा समेत आज्ञामा उल्लेख गरिएको थियो। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१५) त्यसैले उनले यो काम गर्न वाध्यनै हुनु पर्छो।^१

माथि उल्लेखित घटनालाइ सबै विद्वान्हरूले एकै किसिमले उल्लेख गरेका छैनन्। जस्तो कसै-कसैले यस घटनालाइ गुड्-थाङ् पा अर्थात् गुड्-थाङ्का निवासी चोन दुर सैद्-गे (वीर्य सिंह) लाइ राजाले यो महापण्डितलाइ तिब्बत ल्याउने कामजिम्मा दिए र उनले नागू-हो निवासी कुल ठीम ग्यालुवा र अरु केही अनुयायीहरू समेतलाइ सहयोगी बनाई नेपालको बाटो भएर विक्रमशील तर्फ गए भन्ने उल्लेख गरेका छन्। (राहुल १९६०:२१७) तर अनुवादमा भएको त्रुटिले यस्तो भएको हुनु पर्दछ। वास्तवमा गुड्-थाङ् पा अर्थात् गुड्-थाङ्का निवासी लो-चा-वा (दोभाषे) नागू-होका कुल ठीम ग्यालुवा हुन ग्या का चोन दुर सैद्-गे होइनन्। यस विषयमा तल उल्लेख गरिने तथ्यताबाट अझ प्रष्ट हुनेछ।

यस किसिमले गुड्-थाङ् नागू-होका लो-चा-वा भिक्षुले राजाज्ञा वमोजिम संभवमर महापण्डित अतीशालाई नभर पण्डितद्वारा कानिस्का कुनै अरु पण्डितलाई मरणनि तिब्बत लैजान स्वीकार गरे। नागू-हो लो-चा-वाको माग अनुरूप ५ जना तिब्बती सहयोगी र आवश्यकता अनुरूप सुन राजा ज्याङ् क्युवले पठार। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१५) यस पछि अतिशको जीवन चरित्र मूल तिब्बतीमानै त्यस्तो लेखिएर हो वा अनुवादमा भएको दोषलेगदा भएको हो, केही मेल नखाने कुरा उल्लेखित भएको छ। किनकि जीवन चरित्रको अनुवाद जुन प्रकाशमा आएको छ, त्यसमा माथि उल्लेख गरिए जस्तो जुन समयमा राजा ज्याङ् क्युवले नागू-हो लो-चा-वालाई महापण्डितलाई तिब्बत ल्याउने कामको जिम्मा लगाए त्यसवेला उनी भारतमानै अध्ययनमा थिए र उही उनले राजाले पठाएको आज्ञाको खवर पाउनुको साथै तिब्बतका ५ जना सहयोगीहरू पनि

१. यो कुरा ड्याग वाङ् निमाद्वारा संपादित अतीशको जीवनीमा लेखिएको छ। यसको अंग्रेजी अनुवाद चट्टोपाध्याय ले कान्जुभएको छ। (चट्टोपाध्याय १९८१:४२३-१५)

उही पुगेको उल्लेख। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१५) त्यस्तैगरेर दीपङ्कर तिब्बत तर्फ प्रस्थान गर्ने समयमा नागू-हो भारत वसेको ३ वर्ष र ५ महिना भैसकेको र उनी एककिसिमले पूर्ण विद्वान् भैसकेका थिए भन्ने चर्चा छ। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१६) फेरी त्यही जीवनचरित्रमानै अलि तल नागू-हो (जयशील) विक्रमशील विहार पुगेको वर्णनमा उनले विक्रमशीलको लागि यात्रा सुरू गरे, अठ्ठेरो वाटो पारगदै वाँसले वनेका फोपडीहरूमा वास वस्दै नेपालको वाटो हुँदै गए। वाटोमा नेपालका राजाको बोध गया तर्फको यात्रा दललाइ भेटे र राजाको तोथैयात्राको ढफफा सँगै नागू-होको ढफफा पनि बोध गया पुगेको र बोधगयावाट मात्र तिब्बती दल विक्रमशीला तर्फ लाग्यो भन्ने चर्चा छ। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१५, १६) यस कुरावाट स्कातिर नागू-हो लो-चा-वा भारतमै थिए भन्ने बुझिन्छ भने, अर्कोतर्फ उनी तिब्बतमै भएकी र तिब्बतवाट विक्रमशीला तर्फ हिँडेकी बुझिन्छ। यसकिसिमको द्विविधात्मक चर्चा पर्नुको कारण एकत अनुवादमा दोष पनि हुन सक्दछ। यदि यसो भएकी हैनभने नागू-हो लोचावाले महापण्डितलाइ तिब्बत त्याउने कामको जिम्मेवारी लिइसकेपछि एकपटक उनी आफ्नो विहार गुङ्-थाङ् तर्फ विदामा गस्की हुनु पनि सम्भव छ र गुगेवाट राजाले नागू-होको सहयोगको लागि ५ जना तिब्बतीहरू र खर्चको लागि सुन समेत दिएर गुङ्-थाङ् पठास्की हुनुपर्दछ। यस्तो भएमा जीवन चरित्रमा उल्लेख भएका राजाले मानिस र सुन नागू-हो लो चा-वा कहाँ पठास्की आज्ञाको खबर पठास्की र नागू-होको दल तिब्बतवाट नेपालहुँदै विक्रमशीला तर्फ प्रस्थान गरेको सबै कुरा मिल्दछ। डोम्-तोन रचित अतीशको जीवन चरित्रमा यस तिब्बती ढफफामा १० सदस्य भएकी चर्चा छ। (राहुल १६६०:२१७)

यो तिब्बती दल विक्रमशीला पुग्दा अर्का तिब्बती भिक्षु तिब्बतको ग्या निवासी चोन दुए सेङ्गे (जसले प्रथमपटक अतीशालाइ तिब्बत लैजाने प्रयास गरेका थिए) त्यहि अध्ययन गरेर वसेका थिए। उनी संग नागू-हो कुल्ठीम ग्याल्वाको दलले भेट्यो। ग्या-चोन ले उक्त तिब्बती दललाइ देख्ना साथै दीपङ्करलाइ लिन आस्की प्रष्ट बुझि हाले। महापण्डितलाइ भेट गराउने लगायत संपूर्ण तरिकाहरू ग्या-चोन-ले नागू-होलाइ सिकारे। ग्या-चोन र नागू-होको भेट हुनासाथ ग्या-चोनले तथागतरक्षित, सुमतिकीर्ति जस्ता अतोशा अन्तर्गतका ठूला पण्डितहरू कत तर अतीशको समकक्षमा आउने आजकल विश्वभरमै दोस्रो बौद्ध आचार्य नभएकी कुरा बताए। ग्या-चोनले अतीशालाइ तिब्बत लैजाने योजना गोप्य राखि नागू-हो समेत सबै तिब्बतीहरू अध्ययनगर्न आस्की भनि विहार प्रमुख स्थविर रत्नाकरलाइ भेट्न सल्लाह दिए र त्यसै अनुरूप उनीहरूले पनि गरे। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१६) उता अतीशा संग सुदुक्क भेटि तिब्बतमा बुद्धधर्मको अधोमुखि अवस्था, राजा ज्ञान प्रभको देन र मृत्यु, लाङ्-दार-माले गरेको बुद्धधर्मको विरोध र त्यसको असर र वर्तमान राजा (ज्याङ्-क्युङ्) को कल्पनालेपूर्ण अनुरोध आदि सबै इतिवृत्तान्त सुनाएपछि अतीशाले पनि सबैकुरा महशुस गरे र विक्रमशीलामा उनको जिम्मामा धेरै काम भए-को र धेरै अघुरा कार्यहरू पुरा गर्न बाँकी भएकी कुरा नागू-होलाइ सुनाए। तैपनि उनी तिब्बत

१८६ सि.स्म.ए.स्म.जर्नल, मोलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

जान भर्षक कोशिणगर्न आश्वासन दिए। तर उनले सुन लिन भने नामन्जुर गरे। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१६)

उपरोक्त घटनाको वर्णन पछि जीवन चरित्रमा वास्तवमा दीपङ्ककलाई तिब्बत जानको-
लागि यसपटक दैविक प्रेरणाले भैसकेको, गयाको अमिताभ मंदीरको अवलोकितेश्वर वोलको कुरा
समेत उल्लेख भएको छ। त्यस्तैगरेर उनलाई देवो ताराले भनेको, योगिनोलाई भेटेको र आचार्य
दीपङ्ककले आफुलाई तिब्बतमा निम्त्याएको र त्यसतर्फ जाँदा सफलता मिल्छ वा मिल्दैन
भन्ने प्रश्न गरेको र योगिनोले राम्रो सफलता मिल्छ, त्यहाँ स्कजना असल अनुयायी (उपासक)
मिल्नेछ^१ भन्ने जवाफको विवरण समेत उल्लेख छ। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१६)

यसकिसिमले विभिन्न स्थानमा गएर बुझेर सौचर मात्र दीपङ्ककले तिब्बत जाने निर्णय
गरेको बुझिन्छ। यसरी जाने तय भैसकेर पनि अतीश गया तर्फको प्रमणमा गस्का र जान-
लाग्दा उपाध्याय ज्ञानश्रीले गयाको एक गुफामा बसेको वृद्ध जाताधारिणीलाई भेट्न सल्लाह
दिएको र गयामा जाताधारिणीलाई भेटेको र उनले पनि अतीशालाई तिब्बतमा पूर्ण सफलता
मिल्ने तर उनको जीवन २० वर्ष घट्ने कुरा जाताधारिणीले बताइदिएको तर अतीशाले आफु-
लाई भन्दा अल्को उद्धार शौची २० वर्षको जीवनको बलिदान गर्ने अठोट गरेको कुराको उल्लेख
छ। (चट्टोपाध्यायः ४१६)

माथि उल्लेख गरिएका संपूर्ण कुराहरू कति सत्य हुन् र कति आधारहीन किंवदन्तिको
रूपमा छन्। तापनि अतीशाले भारतीय भूमि छाडेर तिब्बत तर्फ जान निकै कठिनाई पूर्ण कार्य
थियो। त्यसैले धेरै तयारी र शौच विचार र क्लृप्त साधै शुभ-अशुभ आदिको समेत विचार भने
अवश्य भएको थियो। त्यसैको संकेत स्वरूप माथिका कथाहरू उनको जीवन चरित्रमा जोडिएको
हुनु पर्दछ। जुन समय दीपङ्कक तिब्बतको लागि प्रस्थान गर्न लागेका थिए त्यसवेला भारतमा
तुर्कहरूको आक्रमणको डर फैलिइरहेको थियो। त्यसैले भारतमा धर्म अस्त हुन्छ भन्ने डरले पनि
दीपङ्कक जस्ता तान्त्रिक विशेषज्ञलाई छाड्न भारतवासोहल्लाह मुस्किल परेको थियो। त्यस-
वेला दीपङ्कक नभए भारतमा बुद्ध धर्ममा अन्धकार छाउने कुरा समेत विदाइको वेला महास्थविर
रत्नाकरले भनेका थिए। (दास १९६५: ७३) त्यसैले त्यसवेला आचार्य दीपङ्कक भारतवासीहरू-
का आँखाने बनेका थिए। (राहुल १९६०: २१८) त्यसवेला तुर्कहरूको आक्रमणको भय बढ्नुको
कारण चाहिँ पूर्वी भारतमा महामुद गज्जोले आक्रमण गरेका थिए तर यो आक्रमण त्यत्ति
प्रभावशाली थिएन। पछि अतीश तिब्बतगस्को करीव-करीव शताब्दी भन्दा बढी पछि महामुद
वाक्फियारले भारतमा तहस-नहस मचाएका थिए।

१. यी उपासक वास्तवमा डोम तीनू पा हुन् भनिन्छ।

यसकिसिमले भारतमा त्यस वस्तु मुसलमानको आक्रमणको मय फैलन लागेको हुँदा दीपङ्करलाइ तिब्बत जानकिने विचार कसैको नउठेको हो। तरपनि वहाँ मुस्काले दीपङ्करले तिब्बत जाने निर्णय गरे। तैपनि उनका अधुरा कार्यहरू पुरागर्न उनलाइ कममा पनि १८ महिना लाग्ने हुनाले त्यति समय सम्म पर्खनुपर्ने कुरा नागू-हो लो-चा-वा लाइ बताए। उनीहरूले वर्षा पर्खनु परेपनि महापण्डितलाई लिएर जाने निर्णय दिए। त्यसपछि उक्त समय सम्म विक्रमशीला-मा बस्न र उनीहरूको अध्ययनको व्यवस्थाको लागि महास्थविर रत्नाकर संग अनुरोध गर्न सल्लाह दिए र उनीहरूले पनि त्यसै गरे।

यसकिसिमले नागू-होको दल विक्रमशील पुगेको १८ महिनापछि दीपङ्करले तिब्बततर्फ प्रस्थानगर्ने पूर्ण तैयारी संपन्न गरे। त्यसवेला महास्थविर रत्नाकरले ग्या-चोन् र नागू-हो लो-चा-वा लाइ तिमिहरू यस विहारका सफल विद्यार्थी हो। मेरा महान् बिद्वान् (दीपङ्कर) लाई तिब्बती शासकले तिब्बती जनताको लागि नैजादैछन्। म उनलाइ रोक्न सकिदैन तर ३ वर्षपछि तिमिहरूले उनलाइ फिर्ता ल्याउनु मने। त्यस वेला नागू-होले महास्थविरको आज्ञा-लाई स्वीकार त गरे तर यो कबुल उनले पछि पुरागर्न सकेनन्। अतीशाले आफूना यसपछिको संपूर्ण जीवनकाल तिब्बतमै समाप्त गरे। (चट्टोपाध्याय: ४२० (जीवनो) र पृ. ३१२)

अब पूर्ण तैयारी भैसकेपछि आचार्य दीपङ्करले आफु र आफूना साथमा जाने आफूना मानिसका केही पुस्तकहरू र आवश्यक सामानहरू केही तिब्बतीहरूको साथ जिम्मा दिएर नेपाल तर्फ पठाइदिए। (राहुल १९६०: २२०) विक्रमशेखराट सर्वप्रथम आचार्य बुद्धगया तर्फ प्रस्थान गरे त्यसवेला उनको साथमा आफु आफूना मानिस (भारतीय शिष्य) तिब्बती लो-चा-वा समेत जम्मा गरेर १२ जना थिए। (राहुल: २२०) जसमा पण्डित भूमि गर्भ, भूमि संघ, वीर्यचन्द्र-को साथै तिब्बती ग्या-चोन् र नागू-हो लो-चा-वा थिए। (दास १९६५: ७३) यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएका भूमि गर्भलाइ कहिँ कहिँ दिातिगर्भ अर्थात् तिब्बतमा गोए लो-चा-वा भनिएको छ। (चट्टोपाध्याय: ३१४) तर गोए लो-चा-वाले इशाको १४७६ मा अतिशको वारेमा लेखेको भन्ने उल्लेख पाइनाले यस विषयमा द्विविधा उत्पन्न भएको छ। जेहोस्। बुद्ध गया (वज्रासन) को दर्शन गरेर महापण्डितको धार्मिक दल नेपालतर्फ जान बाटोलाग्यो। जाँदा बाटोमा पर्ने मित्र नामक एक विहारमा धार्मिक दल पुग्यो। (दास: १९६५: ७३) त्यसवेला उनको साथमा तिब्बती शिष्य ग्या-चोन र नागू हो र उनीहरूका क्रमसः २ र ६ जना सहयोगी र आचार्यका २० जना अरु सहयोगीहरू समेत भएकाले दल निकै ठूलो थियो। यस दललाइ उक्त मित्र विहारमा भव्य स्वागत गरियो। (दास १९६५: ७३) यसपछि दल भारतको सोमावती क्षेत्रमा पुग्यो। जहाँ एक सानु विहार थियो। त्यसपछि संघहरूको एक गाउको विहारमा दल पुग्यो। त्यहाँपनि भव्य स्वागत भयो। त्यहाँ पुगेपछि फेरी स्थानीय संघहरू (पण्डित) बीच दीपङ्कर तिब्बत जानाले भारतमा बुद्ध धर्मको सूर्यअस्त हुनेछ भन्ने चर्चा चल्थो। (दास १९६५: ७३) यसको मतलब पुनः एक-

१८८ सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, भौलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

पटक महापण्डितलाई तिब्बतजानवाट रोकने प्रयास चाल्यो। केही त्यहाँका स्थानीय मानिसहरूले त यसरी दापङ्कर तिब्बत जानुको मतलब भारतीय भूमिमा बुद्धधर्मको पतन अवश्यमावी भएकको दृष्टिकोण समेत व्यक्त गरे। (दास: ७३)

यो ठाउँवाट अगाडि वढेपछि भने महापण्डितको धार्मिक मण्डलीले भारतको सीमा पार-ग-यो र त्यहाँ तीर्थिकाहरूको पवित्रस्थानमा पुग्यो भनिएको छ। त्यहाँ १५ जना तीर्थिका संप्रदायकै आचार्यहरू थिए। उनीहरूले पनि दीपङ्करको दललाई त्यस्तै स्वागत गरे। १ दिन सम्म दीपङ्करले तीर्थिकाहरूकै धर्म वारे प्रवचन दिए। यसरी बुद्धधर्मका आचार्य मरएपनि आफ्नो धर्म संप्रदाय वारेमा राम्रो प्रवचन व्याख्या गरेको सुनेर महापण्डित सँग खुशी मएर उनीहरूले दीपङ्करलाई चिन्ह स्वरूप क्छाता दिए। त्यहाँवाट पनि दल अगाडि वढ्यो। त्यहाँ कुनै तीर्थिकाहरू भने शैव र त्यस अन्तर्गतका कापालिक र कुनै वैष्णवहरू थिए। उनीहरू मध्ये शैवको छोराहरू भने बुद्धधर्मका विरोधि थिए र डाह गर्दथे। त्यसैले दीपङ्कर धर्म व्यवस्थाको लागि तिब्बत गएको उनीहरूले मन पराएनन् र आचार्यलाई खतम गर्न १८ जना डाँकुहरू पठाए तर तिनीहरू अतीशालाई देखासाथ मुर्ति जस्तो मएर हल-चल गर्न नसक्ने मए भन्ने कुरा जीवन चरित्रमा उल्लेख भएको छ। (दास १९६५:७४)

यहाँ महापण्डितको जीवनीकारले उल्लेख गरेका भारतीय सिमाक्षेत्रका उक्त धार्मिक स्थानहरू कुन हुन र तीर्थिका कापालिक शैव, वैष्णवहरूको वारेमा थाहलागे आचार्य दीपङ्करको दल कुन वाटोवाट नेपाल आयो भन्ने विषयमा प्रष्ट रूपमा थाह पाउन सजिलो हुन्छ। तर यस विषयमा अहिलेसम्म कुनै तथ्यता प्राप्त गर्न सकिँसको छैन।

यसपछि नेपाल उपत्यका (काठमाडौं) पुग्नु भन्दा अगाडि नै भारतीय सीमाक्षेत्रकै एक ठाउँको जीवनीमा उल्लेख आउँछ। जुन ठाउँलाई गोठालेहरूको भूमि भनिएको छ। त्यसपछि मात्र दलले नेपालको भू-भागमा प्रवेश ग-यो। त्यहाँ नेपालको क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गरेपछि त्यहाँका राजाले विद्वद् मण्डली माथि नराम्रो व्यवहार प्रस्तुत गरे। महापण्डित अतीशाले तिब्बतमा (संभवतः राजालाई दिन) उपहारको लागि साथमा ल्याएको काठको सानु खटिया त्यहाँका राजाले मागे तर महापण्डितले कारण समेत खुलाइ दिन इन्कार गरेपछि राजा रिसाए। उनले मौलि पल्ट विहान अपाचार्यको दल त्यहाँवाट वाटो लाग्नुभन्दा अगावै बाँसका धनुकाँड बाँकेका डाँकाहरू लुटमार गर्न भनि पठाएका थिए। तर ती पनि आचार्यको तान्त्रिक ज्ञान-द्वारा परास्तभए भनिएको छ। (दास १९६५:७५)

यसरी नेपालको क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गर्नसाथ विद्वद् मण्डली माथि अमद् व्यवहार गर्ने राजा नेपालको केन्द्रिय सरकारद्वारा करद स्थानीय कुनै सामन्त राजा हुनुपर्दछ। तर त्यो कुन ठाउँ-

हो? ज्यादा चाखको विषय मस्को ह। यसको अध्ययनकोलागि महापण्डितको धार्मिक दल विक्रमशीलावाट काठमाडौं उपत्यका आउंदा हिँडेको वाटो कुन थियो भन्ने विषयमा जान्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ। त्यही वाटोमा पर्ने सीमावर्ती चौत्रको कुनै ठाउँ यो हुनुपर्दछ। अलका चट्टो-पाध्यायले अतीशको दल बोधगया देखि काठमाडौं जान संभवतः गया-पटना-चंपारन हुँदै हिँडेको थियो, जुन मार्ग त्यसैसमय देखि व्यापारीहरू हिँड्ने मुख्यमार्ग थियो भन्ने राय पेश गरेकीछन् (१९८१:३१६) वास्तवमा चट्टोपाध्यायको यो अनुमान ठीकै जस्तो लाग्छ। काठमाडौंवाट तराइ फर्ने मुख्य मार्ग फर्पिङ वा धानकोट भैरवाट चित्लाङ टिस्टुङ हुँदै जाने मुख्य थियो (वज्राचार्य २०३०:३०६-१०; , ढुङ्गेल २०४२:४) अर्को वनेपा तर्फवाट सिन्धुली पुग्नेपनि वाटो चल्तीकोनै थियो। हुनत दोलखा तर्फवाट तिब्बत-भारत बीचको व्यापारमार्गको रूपमा यो वढी चल्तिको थियो (वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ २०३२:५) विक्रमशीलावाट प्रस्थान गरेपछिको आचार्य दीपङ्करको यात्रा विवरण वारे माथि उल्लेख गरिए भन्दा वढी जानकारी पाउने कुनै साधन अहिलेसम्म पाइस्का छैनन्। आचार्यको जीवनीमा माथि उल्लेखित यात्रा विवरण पछि स्कै चौटि महापण्डितको दल आर्य स्वयंभूनाथ पुगेको कुराको चर्चा ह। स्वयंभूमा त्यहाँका स्थानीय राजाले आचार्यको स्वागत गर्न मध्य तैयारी गरास्का थिए। आचार्य त्यहाँ पुग्नु भन्दा पहिलेनै उनको स्वागतको लागि स्वयंभूका राजाले आफ्नो अधिकारीहरू स्वयंभूवाट निकै टाढा माथि टि-शोङ्-ढो सम्म पठाए भन्ने चर्चा ह।* आचार्यलाइ ज्यादा श्रद्धापूर्वक स्वागत गरेर दरबारको मुख्य भागमानै वस्ने प्रबन्ध स्वयंभूका राजाले मिलाए र महापण्डित त्यहाँ रहन्ज्याल सम्म राजाले उनको साथ छाडेनन्। त्यस्तै दीपङ्कर त्यहाँपुगेको तेस्रोदिन वेलुको स्वयंभूमा धुम-धाम मनोरञ्जनकासाथ त्यहाँका राजा र जनताको सुख समृद्धिको लागि धार्मिक कार्यहरू संपन्नमए। (दास १९६५:७५) स्वयंभूमा धेरैलामो समय सम्म महापण्डित र उनको दल वसेको बुझिँदैन। (चट्टोपाध्याय १९८१:३१७) यसवेला लो-चा-वा भ्या-चोन्लाइ ज्वरो आयो। हुनत केही दिन अगाडी देखि उनलाइ सन्चोथिसन। तर उनको अवस्था निकै नाजुक भैसकेको थियो। यहाँनिर ग्या-चोन् स्वयंभूवाट हिँडेपछि सिकिस्त मस्को जस्तो संकेत अतीशको जीवनीवाट बुझिन्छ। यस घटना सम्म आजसम्म अतीश दीपङ्करको विषयमा अनुसन्धानगर्ने सबैजसो विद्वान्हरूको रायमा थोर बहुत फरक भस्तापनि प्रायः जसो मेलखास्कै देखिन्छ र सो राय प्रमाणित पनि हुन्छ। अब यसपछि पाल्पा वा पाल्पोही थाङ्को विषयमा, होल्खा भन्ने स्थानको विषयमा राजा अनन्तकीर्ति र थं वा थम् विहारको विषयमा र तिब्बतमा महापण्डित अतीशको दल पहिले कुन्ठाउमा पुग्यो भन्ने विषयमा समेत विभिन्न कारणवश पुष्टिहुने खालका विचारहरू आज-सम्म यसविषयमा हातहाल्ने सबै विद्वान्हरूले व्यक्त गरेका छन्। यहाँ पहिले अहिलेसम्मको विद्वान्हरूको अध्ययनलाइने उदाहरणार्थ पेश गर्नु उचित हुनेछ।

* यस्तो चर्चा चट्टोपाध्यायले गरेतापनि वास्तवमा यो टि-शोङ्-ढो स्थान नभएर कृशोङ् वा टि-शोङ् मारो भन्ने व्यक्तिको नामहो उनी स्वयंभूका स्थानीय णत्रका कुनै मारो थिए। वास्तवमा मूलवाट उतार्दा मस्को अन्तराले यस्तो वारो वाट ढो हुन गस्को हो। (दास १९८३:४१)

मनिस्कोह, आचार्य स्वयंभूवाट विदाभर पाल्पा जान मनि हिँडे जाँदा-जाँदै वाटोमा लो-चा-वा गया-चोन् निकै विरामो परे। उनलाइ निकोपार्न अनेक कौशिसभयो तर आखिर नवौँच्नेने भए। पाल्पातिरको तात्कालिक चलन अनुशार कुनैपनि मानिस कसैको घरमा वसेको बेला म-यो भने उसका साथको संपत्ति घरवालाको हुने नियम थियो। त्यसैले गया-चोन्को अन्तिम अवस्था भएपछि उनका धार्मिक पुस्तक र सुवर्णादि धन वचाउन उनलाइ वोकेर कुनै स्थानीय खोलातिर लगियो त्यहिँ (वस्तिवाहिर खोला तिरने) गया-चोन्ले यस संसारलाई सधैको लागि ह्याडे। यसरी कुशल दोभाषोको असामयिक मृत्युले आचार्य ज्यादै चिन्तित भए। उनको तिब्बत पुगेर धार्मिक उत्थान गर्ने जुन महान आकांक्षा थियो, त्यो पुरा नहुने आचार्यले महसुस गरे। स्कपटकत उनले तिब्बत जाने योजनाले परित्याग गर्ने राय प्रकट गरे। तर नागू-हो समेत अन्य आचार्यको साथमा भएका लो-चा-वाहूले संफाइ-वुफाइ गरेपछि आचार्य पुनः संयम भए र योजना पुनः यथावत चल्थो। लो-चा-वा गया-चोन् मरेपछि १ रात पाल्पामै बिताइ मौलिपल्ट डोलोमा उनका विख्यातना र अरू लुगाहरू राखेर स्थानीय प्रशासनलाई हल गया-चोन् नमरेको, अफै औषधोपचार हुँदै गरेको वहानागरि दोपङ्करको दल त्यहाँवाट पाल्पाको होल्ख भन्ने स्थान तर्फ प्रस्थान ग-यो; जहाँ स्कजना कान नसुन्ने भिदु वस्दथे। उनी आचार्य दोपङ्करका साथी थिए। त्यहाँ आचार्य र उनका सहयात्री सहयोगीहरू १ महिना सम्म वसे। यस भन्दा पैल्लै होल्ख पुग्नु अगि गया-चोन् मरिसकेपछि आचार्यले राजा नयपाललाई एउटा चिट्ठो लेखेका थिए। यस चिट्ठोलाई 'विमलरत्नलेख' भनिन्छ। यसको तिब्बती अनुवाद लो-चा-वाले आचार्यकै सहयोगवाट त्यसैवेला गरेका थिए र उक्त पत्रको तिब्बती अनुवाद अफै तिब्बती बुद्धधर्मग्रन्थ तेन्-ग्युरमा छ। यसको सुल्लै स्थविर महापण्डित दोपङ्कर ओजानले राजा नयपाललाई लेखेको पत्र भनिस्को छ। (चट्टोणाध्याय १६८१:३१८) आचार्य १ महिना सम्म होल्खका बहिरा भिदुको णहुनाको रूपमा वस्दा त्यहाँ ती बहिरा भिदु मित्रलाई दीपङ्करले प्रज्ञापारमिता, गुह्य मन्त्रादिको व्याख्या सुनाए। त्यसैवेला 'चर्पा संग्रह प्रदीप' भन्ने ग्रन्थ आचार्यले लेखे। जसको तिब्बती अनुवाद नागू-हो लो-चा-वाले गरे उक्त चर्पा संग्रहको तिब्बती रूप तिब्बती बौद्धधर्म ग्रन्थ तेन्-ग्युरमा छुँदैछ साथै यसको मूल संस्कृत रूप पनि पाइन्छ। यहाँ नेपालका वज्राचार्य परिवारमा अफै विभिन्न उत्सवहरूमा यो चर्पा गाउने गर्दछन्।

त्यसपछि होल्खाट आचार्यहरू पाल्पोहो थाङ् अर्थात् पाल्पाको मैदानमा पुगे त्यसैवेला त्यहाँ नेपालका राजाले आचार्य र उनका सहभागोहरूलाई स्वागत गरे। उनको दरबार त्यहीँ थियो। अतीशाले राजालाई एक विहार बनउने अनुरोध गरे र उनको साथमा भएको 'दृष्ट-उषाक्षी' नामक हात्ति राजालाई दिए। त्यसैको वदलामा एउटा विहार निर्माण गराउने माग पनि महापण्डितले गरे। यसका साथै हात्तिलाई युद्धको काममा प्रयोग नगरेर धार्मिक पुस्तक वोक्ने र उद्धार कार्यमा प्रयोग गर्न समेत वचन बद्ध गराए। राजाले पनि खुशीसाथ विहार निर्माण गराए। जुन विहारको नाम थं विहार थियो। राजा अनन्तकीर्तिले आफूनी होरालाई भिदु बनाउन दिए र कुमार पद्मप्रम दीक्षात भइ भिदुभर विहारमा वसे।

आचार्यले उनलाइ विहारको लो-चा-वाहल्लाई संस्कृत र तिब्बती दुवै अध्यापन गराउने जिम्मा दिए। दीपङ्करले यहाँ १ वर्ष विताए। त्यसपछि आचार्यको धार्मिक दल तिब्बतको लागि प्रस्थान गर्‍यो। वडो धुम धाम साथ तिब्बतका राजा ज्याङ्-क्युव- होसले पठाएका प्रति-निधिहरूले स्वागत गर्दै तिब्बतको डोरी दौत्र भित्र पर्ने गुङ् थाङ् जो-ना-केन्-पो (फोङ्-केन् पो -फोङ्-खा) मन्ने नाग-हो लो-चा-वा को निवासस्थानमा महापण्डितलाई पु-याए। (दास १६६५: ७५-७८, चट्टोपाध्याय १६८१:३१८-३२३, राहुल १६६०:२२०-२२१०)

माथि उल्लेखित अतोशाले स्वयंभूवाट प्रस्थान गरेपछिको यात्रा र त्यस समयको घटनालाई यहाँ गौणरूपमा बिचार गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ। उनी स्वयंभूवाट पाल्पो तर्फ प्रस्थान गरे मन्ने जुन अतिशयोक्ति तिब्बतीमा लेखिएको जीवनीवाट अनुवाद भएकोछ, त्यो वास्तवमा पाल्पो नभएर तिब्बतीको वाल्पो हुनुपर्दछ। यद्यपि यस लेखको लेखकले अतिशयोक्ति जीवनी तिब्बती मूलरूप हैन अवसर प्राप्त गरेकोछैन। जेहोस त्यहाँ वाल्पो नलेखेर पाल्पोले लेखिएको भन्ने पनि डोम तोन् वा अरु कुनैपनि जीवनीकारले वाल्पो लेख्दा कारणवस पाल्पो लेख पुगेकोहो वा मूलमा वाल्पो लेखिएको र पछि पाल्पो हुन गएको मन्ने कुरा विभिन्न तथ्यता-हरूले पुष्टि गर्दछन्। जसको स्पष्टताकोलागि निम्न लिखित बुँदाहरू ऐश गर्न सकिन्छ।

(१) आचार्य दीपङ्करको दल स्वयंभूवाट पाल्पो गएर नेपालका राजा अनन्तकीर्तिंलाइ भेटे, उनको दरबार त्यहिँ थियो मन्ने कुराले नेपालको राजधानी अर्थात् केन्द्र त्यसैला पाल्पो थियो मन्ने बुझ्नुपर्दछ। जुनकुरा अन्य सामग्री र तथ्यहरूले पुष्टि गर्दैनन्।

(२) वास्तवमा यो कुरा कुनै हालतमा पनि मिल्दैन। किनकि आचार्य त्यहाँ पुग्दा राजा अनन्तकीर्तिले पनि राम्रो स्वागत गरे। आचार्यले आफ्नो साथको 'दृष्टउणधि' नामक हात्ति राजालाइ दिए त्यसको बदलामा एक विहार बनाउन राजा संग अनुरोध गरे। राजा-द्वारा आचार्यको अनुरोध स्वीकार भयो र एक विहारको निर्माण भयो। उक्त विहार थुं विहार मन्ने ठाउँमा बन्यो। (दास १६६५:७७) यो विहार कुनहो? सवै मन्दा विचारणीय र निर्णायक विषयनै यस परिप्रेक्षामा यहि हुन्छ। वास्तवमा थुं विहार मन्ने कुनैपनि विहार पाल्पोमा भएको उल्लेख पाईंदैन। यो विहार त काठमाडौँको अहिलेको ठमेल विहार हो; जुन पछि आचार्य दीपङ्करको विहार विक्रमशीलाको संस्मरणमा विक्रमशील विहार अर्थात् पछि आएर संभवतः दीपङ्करकै नामले भगवान बहाल भनिन थाल्यो।

उपर्युक्त २ नं. बुँदामा उल्लेख गरिएको कुरा धेरै तथ्यता र धेरै प्रमाणहरूले प्रस्तुत गर्दछन्। जस्तो पहिले-पहिले काठमाडौँ शहरलाई प्रशासनिक रूपले ब्याँ अन्यकारणले विभिन्न भागमा विभाजन गरिएको थियो। जस्तो पूर्वभाग (वंता) पश्चिमभाग (योँता) तल्लो दौत्र वा टोल

(कोने) माथिल्लो चोत्र वा टोल (धने) आदि। यसैले माथिल्लो टोलमा अवस्थित विहारलाइ थं विहार भनिएको हो। पक्कि-पक्कि साना विहारलाइ वहि भनिने चलन आयो जसअनुरूप यो विहार पनि थं वहि भयो। यही थं वा थं वहो अपभ्रंश भएर ठमेल भनिन थालेको हो। अहिले उक्त टोललाइनै ठमेल भनिन्छ। डि.आर. रेग्मीलेपनि अतीशाको जीवनीमा उल्लेखित थं विहारलाइ प्रथम वा माथिल्लो विहार भनि उल्लेख दोहोर-याउनुभएको छ। तर उहाले अतीशाको काठमाडौं वसाइलाई पुष्टि गर्ने नेपाली स्रोत कुनै पाईदैन भन्ने राय दिनुभएको छ। (१९६५:१२६) तर हालैमा भगवानवहालमा रहेको शतसाहस्रीका प्रज्ञापारमितामा अतीशा दीर्घकर-को नाम उल्लेख भएको तथ्यता अवगत भएवाट नेपाली स्रोतलेपनि उत्कुरा पुष्टि गरेको छ। त्यसै-हुनाले रेग्मीज्यूको उक्त विचारलाइ अब स्वीकार गर्न सकिन्न। यी माथि उल्लेखित तथ्यहरूको आधारवाट न आचार्य दीर्घकरको दत्त स्वयंभू पक्कि सौम्य होल्ख भन्ने स्थान(?) हुँदै काठमाडौंको मुख्य शहरमा आएको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ।^१

(३) यसरी स्वयंभूवाट काठमाडौंको मुख्य शहरमा आएका भए पाल्पो गए भनेको केही त ? भन्ने जिज्ञासा उत्पन्न हुन्छ। यस विषयमा अलिकति माथिने चर्चा गरिसकिएको छ। वास्तवमा त्यहाँ आचार्यको जीवनी लेखकले पाल्पो लेखेको नभएर वाल्पो लेखेको हो। तिब्बती भाषामा वाल्पो भनेको चाहिँ नेपाल हो (दास १९८३:८६८) यसैले स्वीकरण पक्कि संपूर्ण नेपाललाई र कहिले काठमाडौंलाइ मात्र बुझाएको देखिन्छ। वाल्पो भनेको काठमाडौं हो भन्ने कुरामा चाहिँ त्यसैले द्विविधा हुन सक्दैन। पूर्व मध्यकाल र मध्यकालमा नेपाल (काठमाडौं) उपत्यका र त्यस वरीपरीका बाहिरका केही चोत्रलाइनै बुझाउँथ्यो र तिब्बतीहरूपनि त्यहिने बुझ्दथे। अहिलेको संपूर्ण नेपाललाइ वाल युल वा वाल्पो भन्दैनथे। संपूर्ण जुम्टालाइ 'यात्से' मुस्ताङ् चोत्रलाइ 'लो' वा 'लोवा' भने जस्तै उनीहरूले सुनेका र संबन्ध भएका साना रजौटा-हरूको पनि तिब्बती नाम संभवतः वैग्लै थियो। पक्कि नेपाल स्वीकरणले संपूर्ण नेपाल एक भएको हुनाले संपूर्ण नेपाललाई वाल्पो वा वालयुल भन्न थालेको हो। तैपनि पाल्पालाइ वाल्पो भनेको उदाहरण चाहिँ भेटिदैन। उदाहरणार्थ अरूपनि यहाँ उल्लेख गर्न सकिन्छ। जस्तो अहिलेपनि तिब्बती मानिसलाइ प्रश्न ग-यो भने प्रष्ट हुन्छ; उनीहरू चावहिलको स्तूपलाइ वाल्पो सा-लाग-दोलाग् भन्ने गर्दछन्। त्यस्तै यसको लागि तिब्बतका भिक्षु क्याग् लो-चा-वा (धर्म स्वामि) को जीवन चरित्र, नेपाल (काठमाडौं) का पण्डित शीलमन्जुको विषयलाइ उदाहरणको रूपमा लिइ सकिन्छ। शीलमन्जु काठमाडौंका शिर (जवाली: २०१६:२६७) र उनलाइ काठमाडौंका शीलमन्जु

१. यो 'होल्ख' स्वयंभू र काठमाडौंको मुख्य शहर बीचको कुनै स्थान, संभवतः विष्णुमती छेउको हुनुपर्दछ।

मन्दा तिब्बतीमा 'वाल्पो' शोलमन्जुने मनिन्हु।^१ यसरीने क्वे-जेपाल (धर्म स्वामि) पनि अध्ययनगर्न अतीशामन्दा करोव २ शताब्दी पछि वाल्पो वा वालयुल आस्का थिए। त्यसैले उनको स्वयंभूमा शुल्मा रत्नरक्षात (रिन्-कैन-हो) संग साक्षात्कारमस्की थियो। उनले थं विहार देखेका थिए, जसलाइ पहिलो विहार (का-पाही चुग्-लाग् खाङ्) मनिन्थ्यो। त्यहाँ अतीशाले पूजागर्न स्क मंदीर निर्माण गरेका थिए। जसलाइ भारतीयहरू धर्मधातु विहार (क्योए-क्यी-यीङ्- क्यी-चुंग लाग् खाङ्) मन्देष्टे मन्ने कुरा धर्मस्वामीको जीवनीमा लेखिएको छ। (रोङ्क १६५६: -७(मूल) ४४-५५ (अनुवाद)) धर्मस्वामिको जीवनी अध्याय २ मा "त्यस- पछि जब काठमाडौंमा मस्को घरमा पुगे" मन्नेलाइ "देने वाल-युल दु नेपोही खाङ् पर ज्योन् पे" मनिस्को छ। (क्याग् लो-चा-वाको नाम् थर (जीवनी) दोस्रो अध्याय) यसै तथ्यतावाट वाल-युल अर्थात् वाल-पो भनेको खासगरी काठमाडौं हो मन्ने बुझिन्छ। त्यसै गरी धर्म-स्वामिको जीवनीको आधारवाट अतीशाले मंदीर बनाउने काम काठमाडौंको थंविहार (धर्मधातु वा विक्रमशील वा भगवान वहाल) मा गरेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ। त्यसैले अतीश दीपङ्करको जीवनीमा १ वर्ष थम विहारमा वसे भनेको काठमाडौंमा वसे भनेको हो, नकि पाल्पामा। त्यसैगरी अनन्तकीर्तिको दरबार पनि पाल्पा होइन काठमाडौं हो। पद्म प्रम जसलाइ भारतवाट प्रस्थान गरेपछि अतीशदीपङ्करले दीक्षा दिस्का प्रथम भिक्षु थिए (दास: १६६५:७७), उनी पनि काठमाडौंकै राजकुमार थिए; पाल्पाका होइनन्। टुचीले टुङ् हुवाङ् स्नल्समा उल्लेखित वालयुलको विषयमा चर्चा गर्दा तिब्बतमा एउटा अर्को वालयुल मस्को देखाउनु मस्को छ; जहाँ मध्यतिब्बतको चाङ् र बुई वीचको महत्वपूर्ण वस्ति ढि-हु-थाङ् (वी-हु-थङ्) पर्दथ्यो। टुचीको अनुशार यस वालयुलले नेपाल संग कुनै सम्बन्ध राख्दैन। (टुची: १६७८: ३४४-४५) पश्चिम नेपाल तर्फ पनि यस वालयुलका निवासीहरू (जसलाइ वाल-वा मनिन्छ) प्रशस्त मेडा-व्याङ्-ग्रा-हरू साथमा नुन लिएर आइ चामल व्यापार गरि फर्कन्थे मन्नेकुरा बुझिस्को छ। तर यस वाल युलको र नेपालको नाम वाल-युलको तिब्बती लेखाइमा फरक देखिन्छ। जस्तो यो वाल-युल निवासीलाइ ह्वल्-व (२५५५) लेखिन्छ भने नेपालीलाइ लेखा वल्-णे [२५५५] लेखिन्छ। यी मध्य तिब्बतका वाल-वा जाती तिब्बती ढोग्-ण अर्थात् गोठाले जाती हुन्। त्यसैले यस लेखमा लेखिस्को वाल-णे चाहिँ नेपाली हो।

(३) त्यसै गरी अब अतीश दीपङ्कर पाल्पा नगस्को मए कतावाट पश्चिम तिब्बत प्रस्थान गरे मन्ने पुनः जिज्ञासाको विषय बनेको छ। अहिलेसम्म अतीश दीपङ्कर पाल्पा गए अनि कालीगण्डकीको वाटोलाई आधारवनाएर कसैले मुस्ताङ् हुँदै गए (स्नेलग्रोम १६५७:

१. उदाहरणको लागि तिब्बतो लामाहरूले प्रार्थना गर्दै पाठगर्ने स्क श्लोकलाई यहाँ लिन सकिन्छ, जुन निम्न वमोजिम छ:

वाल्पो शीलमन्जुही, मण्डलाही खारकोङ् दु ।

जितर ताग् तेन् डये लाम् चि, फुर्वु डुव्जो ढोग् ज्वे चिग् ॥

१६४ सि.स.ए.एस.जर्नल, मौलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

१६३-६८) कसैले मुक्तिचौत्र (मुक्तिनाथ) भएर डोल्पा तर्फबाट ताक्लाकोट हुँदै पुराङ पुगे (प्रमनानन्द स्वामि १९४६:६८), कसैले व्यापारी र तीर्थयात्रीहरूको लागि मानसरोवर तर्फ जाने मार्ग भएकै हुनाले जुम्ला-हुम्ला-ताक्लाकोटको बाटोबाट मानसरोवर पुगे त्यसपछि थोलिङ विहार पुगे (चट्टोपाध्याय: ३२७) भन्ने आदि रायहरू दिस्का पाइन्छन्। तर यहाँ सबै विद्वान महोदयहरू प्रशङ्कित: वाल्पोलाङ पाल्पा भनेर अलमलिएर यो बाटोको अनुमान गर्न पुगेका छन् भने अर्को महत्वपूर्ण कुरा पश्चिम तिब्बतको डोरीचौत्र भन्नासाथ सबैको आँखा त्यतै पुग्नाले यता मध्य नेपालको चल्तीको बाटोतर्फ दृष्टि नै नफर्किएकोले यस्तो हुन गएको जस्तो महसुस हुन्छ। वास्तवमा पश्चिम तिब्बतका त्यसवेला अरू साना भन्दा शक्तिशाली राजा गुगेका थिए। जसले प्रायः संपूर्ण डोरीचौत्र (पश्चिम तिब्बत) कब्जाएका थिए। डोरीका तीनचौत्रमा गुङ थाङ पनि पर्दथ्यो। त्यसवेला यस चौत्रलाई डोरी म्ये अर्थात् तल्लो डोरी चौत्रभित्र पारेर हेरिन्थ्यो यो चौत्र 'माङ युल' नामले पनि चिनिन्थ्यो। (दुवी १९५६:१७, ७४) गुङ थाङको ढुङ-ख (राजाको इतिहास) मा प्रष्टरूपमा गुङ थाङको मुख्य वस्ति वा किल्लालाई डोरी फोङ भनिएको छ। (दुवी १९५६:१७) उता आचार्य दोर्पाकरको जीवनीमा वाल्पो (नेपाल-काठमाडौं) बाट प्रस्थान गरेपछि महापण्डितलाई तिब्बतका राजा ज्याङ ल्युङ होस्ले पठाएका ४ जना जनरल (अधिकारी) द्वारा तिब्बतको चौत्रमा पुग्नासाथ १०० घोडा, राजाले पठाएका सौगातहरू, सेता ध्वजा लिस्का १६ घोडचढी अरू सेता क्वाता र पताका लिस्का घोडचढीहरू, बाजा गाजाका साथ 'ओम' मानी भै हुँ मंत्रोच्चारण गर्दै भव्यताका साथ स्वागत गरे भन्ने उल्लेख छ। (दास १९६५:७७:७८) तिब्बतचौत्रमा पुगेपछि सर्वप्रथम अतोशाले राजाका प्रतिनिधि नारी-चो-सुम्पालाई भेटेका थिए। उनले महापण्डितलाई ५ ओंश सुन, तिब्बती चिया र अन्य चीजहरू दिएर स्वागत गरेका थिए। रातमा धार्मिक कार्यहरू गरिएको थियो। (दास १९६५:७८) यसबाट के बुझिन्छ भने, तिब्बतचौत्रमा पुगेपछि पहिलो रात सिमावर्ती तिब्बतकै कुनै सानुठाउमा महापण्डित र उनको दललाई राखिएको थियो। किनकि जीवनीमा त्यस पहिलो रातको उल्लेखपछि मात्र त्यसपछि दल डोरीको गुङ थाङ तर्फ जाँदा जो-ना-केन् जो (फोङ ना केन् जो?) भन्ने ठाउँमा नागू क्वाको निवासस्थानमा महापण्डितलाई स्वागत गरेको थियो र त्यहाँ आचार्य १ महिना बसेका थिए। (दास १९६५:७८) यस घटनालाई सुम्-पा खेन्पो ये-से पाल्ज्योख्दारा रचित पाग्-साम्-जोन् जाङ्मा १ वर्ष थुँ विहारमा विताएपछि पानी घोडा वर्ष (कु तागू लो) मा महापण्डित डोरी चौत्रको गुङ थाङ थो-दिङ (थो-लिङ) मा पुगे भन्ने लेखिएको छ। (दास १९०८: १८५) डोरी गुङ थाङमा नाग-क्वा लो-चा-वाको विहारथियो भन्ने कुरा ल्यो-चा-वा (धर्मस्वामि) को जीवनीबाट पनि थाह लाग्दछ। उता सुम्-पाकेकृतिमा उल्लेख गरिएको गुङ थाङ थोलिङ भन्नेले चाहिँ वास्तवमा गुङ थाङ र (त्यसपछि) थोलिङ भन्ने आशय देखाउँछ। किनकी गुङ थाङ र थोलिङ (विहार) एकैस्थानमा केन्नु। थोलिङ भनेको गुँगे चौत्रमा अर्थात् सुदुर पश्चिम तिब्बतमा र गुङ थाङ भनेको चाहिँ पश्चिम तिब्बतको सबै भन्दा पूर्व

देदिआ सिमाक्षेत्र हो। जेहोस क्याग्-लो-चा-वा (धर्मस्वामि) लाई पहिँ त्यहाँ नाग्-होके स्थान (पद) मा बस्न निम्त्याएपहिँ धर्मस्वामि नेपालवाट सौँफे गुड् थाङ्को त्यसै विहार-मा गस्का थिए। त्यहाँ पुग्नासाथ उनलाइ त्यस भेगका ८० वटा गौन्पाको साँचो जिम्मा दिइएको थियो। त्यस गौन्पाको नाम याङ्-दोङ् हो। (रोङ्क १६५६:१०-१०२) जुन जो-ना केन पो मा पर्दछ। (दास १६६५:७८) यो जो-ना-केनपो भनेको चाहिँ जोङ्-सा-जोङ् हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने यस लेखकको विचार छ। यहिँ जोङ् सा जोङ् भनेको तिब्बती ग्रीकमा उल्लेखित छ-री जोङ् हो भन्ने पनि लेखकको विचार छ। यस जोङ् सा जोङ् लाइ कहिलेकाहिँ मदे-युल जोङ्-का मनि उल्लेख भएको पनि पाइन्छ। (दुवी १६५६:१७) नेपालको इतिहासमा सास-गरी तिब्बत युद्धको समयमा वडि नामचलेको फुंगाको किल्ला भनेको पनि यहिँ हो। वास्तव-मा नेपालीले तिब्बतीको फोङ्-सा लाइ फुंगा सुनेर यस्तो उल्लेख गरेको हुनुपर्दछ। समय-समयमा नेपाल-तिब्बत युद्धका फुंगाका फोम् पौन संग वार्तालाप भएका कागजपत्रहरू पनि पाइन्छन्। वास्तवमा यो फोम् पौन भनेका जोङ्-सा-का जोङ् प्योन अर्थात् जोङ्-सा किल्लाका किल्ला प्रमुख वा क्षेत्र प्रमुख हुन्। त्यसैले जोङ् केन पो भनेको यहिँ जोङ् सा जोङ् हुनुपर्दछ। जोङ् केन-पो भन्नाले ठूलो किल्ला वा ठूलो वस्ति भन्ने अर्थ हुन्छ।

उपरोक्त तथ्यताहरूवाट धार्मिक र राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोणले उक्त गुड् थाङ् वा जोङ् केन पो वा क्योरोङ् क्षेत्र प्राचीनकाल देखि आधुनिककाल सम्मने ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण थियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। यस आधारवाट अध्ययन गर्दा आचार्य दीपङ्कर १ महिना जति गुड् थाङ्-तर्फने वितार मात्र थोलिङ् विहारमा (गुगेक्षेत्र) पुगेको बुझिन्छ। जेहोस यस तथ्यताको आधारमा हाम्रो के भन्न सक्दछौं भने, गुगेका राजाले महापण्डितको भव्यताकासाथ स्वागत गर्न तिब्बत क्षेत्रमा पठाइलो टेक्नासाथै देखि आफ्ना मानिस पठाएका थिए। वाटोमा राम्रो प्रबन्ध मिलाइएको थियो। दोस्रो कुरा महापण्डित तिब्बतमा सर्वप्रथम मानसरोवर पुराङ् क्षेत्रमा नपुगेर पहिले गुड् थाङ्को 'जो-ना-केन-पो' (जहाँ उनलाइ लिन गस्का साथमा भएका नाग्-हो लो-चा-वाको निवास (गौन्पा) थियो) मा पुगेका थिए र त्यहाँ १ महिना बसेका थिए। अब विचारणीय कुरा निम्न प्रश्नहरूमा छः

(१) यो गुड् थाङ् नेपालको हुम्ला-दार्चुला तर्फवाट अर्थात् ताक्लाकोट भएर जाँदा नजिक पर्दछ कि काठमाडौँवाट तिब्बतजाने प्राचीनकाल देखि चलेको महत्वपूर्ण रसुवा तर्फवाट क्योरोङ् हुँदै जाँदा नजिक पर्दछ?

(२) कर्माचुरा अतीशालाइ निम्त्याएर तिब्बत बोलाउने राजा कहाँ वस्यथे? र तिब्बतमा आचार्यको पहिलो कार्यक्षेत्र कुन थियो?

१६६ सि.स.न.ए.स.स.जर्नल, मोलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

(३) त्यस्तै जीवनीमा पहिले महापण्डितको दल गुङ्गथाङ्ग १ महिना वसेर पछिमात्र पुराङ्ग-तर्फ लाग्नुको मतलब के हो?

यो प्रश्नहरूको ध्यानपूर्वक जवाफ दिँदा अतीशा दीपकर कुनवाटौवाट तिब्बत गस्का थिए भन्नेकुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। अतीशाको विभिन्न स्रोतको आधारबाट पछि संपादित जीवनीमाने पनि उनो पहिले डोरी चौत्रमा पुगेपछि गुंगे पुराङ्ग चौत्रमा पुगे भन्ने उल्लेख नआएर पहिले माङ्ग-युल पुगेको उल्लेख छ। यो माङ्ग-युल त्यहि गुङ्गथाङ्ग चौत्र हो अर्थात् जोङ्ग-खा चौत्रहो। तिब्बतको नक्शा हेरेमा गुङ्गथाङ्ग वा जोङ्ग-खा कहाँ पर्दछ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ। नेपालको रसुवागढो पारगरेर पुगिने तिब्बतको क्योन्ग-रोङ्ग भन्दा थोरैमाथि मात्र जोङ्ग-खा वा गुङ्गथाङ्ग पर्दछ। (नक्शामा हेर्नुहोस्) वरू काठमाडौँवाट पौखरा अथवा पश्चिम नेपालका कुनै स्थानहरू हुँदै (पाल्पापुगिकन) मुस्ताङ्ग भएर दोपङ्गकर गुङ्गथाङ्ग तर्फ लागे भनेको भए केही विचार गर्नु पर्ने हुन्थ्यो। तर त्यसमा पनि त्यत्ति मेलखाने आधारहरू पाइँदैनन्। किनकि मुस्ताङ्ग (तत्कालिक लोवो चौत्र) त्यसैवेलापनि तिब्बतको बुद्धधर्मको दृष्टिकोणले महत्वपूर्ण ठाउँथियो। अतीशाकै समय ताकाका केहो पछि तिब्बतको विद्वान भिक्षु मिल-रे-पा कैलाश भ्रमणमा गस्कार लोवो (मुस्ताङ्ग) पुगेका, काश्मिरो पण्डित शाक्य श्रो आदि मुस्ताङ्ग पुगेको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। (रोङ्क १९७६:१०७१) त्यसैले त्यत्रा महापण्डित अतीशा पनि 'लोवो' (मुस्ताङ्ग) पुगेको भए कतैन कतै उल्लेख आउनुपर्ने हो। तर यस्तो उल्लेख कतै पाइँदैन। त्यसैहुनाले अतीशा दीपकर मुस्ताङ्ग तर्फवाट पनि गुङ्गथाङ्ग गस्को सावित हुँदैन। अर्कोकुरा अतीशा पहिले आफुलाई त्यत्रो श्रद्धाले तिब्बतमा जसले बोलायो उसलाई नभेटो अन्यत्र गएर कामगर्ने कुरा थिएन। त्यसैले पहिले उनी गुंगे पुग्नु थियो। तर काठमाडौँवाट क्योन्ग-रोङ्ग हुँदै त्यसतर्फ जाँदा आफुलाई अरुण्ड धेरै गरेर, दुःख सहेर, २ वर्षसम्म वसि साधनदिएर तिब्बत ल्याउने कुशल दो-माघो (लो-चा-वा) प्यारो शिष्यको निवास (गोन्पा) मा पुगेपछि नागू-होको अनुरोधमा महापण्डित गुङ्गथाङ्गमा १ महिना वसेको हुनुपर्दछ। नागू-होकोलागि ज्यादै गौरवको कुराथियो त्यत्रा महापण्डितलाई आफ्नो ठाउँमा पठाई स्वागतगर्नु। अर्कोकुरा नेपालवाट त्यत्रा पहाडहरू अछिरो वाटो पारगर्दै गुङ्गथाङ्ग पुग्दा केही थकाईको अनुभव पनि भएको हुँदाहो र नागू-होको आफ्नै ठाउँमा पुगेकोहुँदा १ महिना सम्म केही धार्मिक कार्यगरो आराम गरेको पनि हुन सक्छ। त्यसपछि चाङ्गपो उपत्यकाका विभिन्न वस्तिहरू हुँदै महापण्डित पुराङ्ग पुगे र त्यहाँवाट राजा ज्याङ्ग-क्युव-होलाई भेट्न गुंगेस्थित थोलिङ्ग विहारमा पुगेको हुनुपर्दछ। त्यसपछि मानसरोवर कैलाश चौत्र अर्थात् पश्चिम तिब्बत चौत्रका विभिन्न स्थानहरूमा विहारहरू निमाणि गराउँदै धेरै धार्मिक कार्यहरू गरे। त्यसपछिमात्र फेरौ ती महान आचार्य मध्यतिब्बत तर्फ लागेका थिए। यदि आचार्य दोपङ्गकर पाल्पा ताक्लाकोट हुँदै मानसरोवर पुगेकामभए त्यहाँवाट गुङ्गथाङ्ग आएर फेरौ ताक्लाकोट (पुराङ्ग) नै पुग्नुको कुनै औचित्य हुँदैन। साथै माथि प्रस्तुत गरिएका विभिन्न तथ्यताहरूले यो कुरा हुँदै होइन भन्ने प्रमाण पेश गर्दछन्। यसकिसिमै

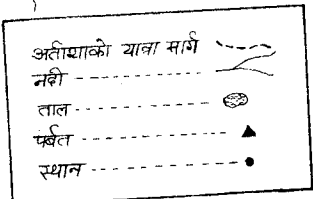
पाल्पा र वाल्पो तथा डोरी र गुङ्गाथाङ्ग क्षेत्रको ऐतिहासिक भौगोलिक यथार्थता स्पष्ट नहुनाले अतीशको यात्राको विषयमा यो उपर्युक्त प्रमर्श गर्न गइएको हुन्छ।

यसलेखमा माथि उल्लेख गरिएका स्वयंभूका राजा, टि-शोङ्ग-ढो र होल्ख मन्ने ठाउँ साथै राजा अनन्तकीर्तिको वारेमा खास तथ्यता त पाउन सकिनेछैन तर त्यसवारेमा यहाँ अलिकति चर्चा गर्नु सान्दर्भिक नै ठानिएको छ। त्यस्तैगरेर आचार्य दीपङ्करको तिथि-मिति र तिब्बतयात्राको तिथि-मिति विषयमा पनि।

महापण्डित दीपङ्करलाइ स्वयंभूमा स्वागत गर्ने राजा को हुन्? भन्ने विषयमा पहिले चर्चा गरिन्छ। तिनताका यहाँ काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको राजनैतिक अवस्था त्यति राम्रो थिएन र त्यत्तिकै इतिहासमा स्पष्ट पनि छैन। त्यस समय भन्दा करिब २ शताब्दी पछि भन्ने उपत्यकामा यहाँ सामन्त शासकहरूको विगविगि भएको कुरा प्रष्ट भएको छ। (वज्राचार्य, २०२२: १२-३६) केन्द्रको अवस्था कमजोर भएको जुनसुकै बेला सामन्त शासकहरू शक्तिशाली भएर निस्कन्छन् भन्ने कुरा त सिद्ध नै छ। त्यसैले दीपङ्करको नेपाल प्रमण भएको समयमा पनि उपत्यकाको केन्द्रीय शासन कमजोर भएको हुँदा बाहीरेका र भित्रकै पनि सामन्त शासकहरू अगाडि बढ्नु स्वभाविकै हो। क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रमा किल्लाको सुरक्षा र हेर विचार गर्न सामन्तहरूको व्यवस्था केन्द्रीय शासकले गरेका हुन्थे। तर केन्द्र बलियो हुँदा यस्ता सामन्तहरू राजा प्रति वफादार हुन्थे र कमजोर भएमा आफैँ स्वतन्त्र राजा समेत हुने परम्परा धेरै पुरानो हो। दीपङ्करलाइ स्वागत गर्ने स्वयंभूका राजा पनि यस्तै सामन्त शासक अर्थात् महापात्र मध्येकै हुनुपर्दछ। स्वयंभू संग इटम बहालको सम्बन्ध पहिले देखि पछि सम्म भइरहेको हुँदा र त्यहाँ कैही शताब्दी सम्म बनेपाका भारदार वंशका मदनरामसिंह वर्धन र उनका छोरा शक्तिरामसिंह वर्धन-हरूको हालिमुआलि भएकोले (वज्राचार्य: २२-३५) यिनका पूर्वजहरूले स्वयंभूका राजा भनिएका हुन्कि? शक्तिरामका वा मदनराम सिंहका काका जयसिंहराम वर्धनलाइ श्री श्री महाराजा-धिराज परमेश्वर परम भट्टारक भनि त्यसैवेला लेखिएको 'दशकर्म शास्त्र' भन्ने पुस्तकमा लेखिएको छ। (वज्राचार्य: ३०) यस आधारवाट सामन्त महापात्रहरू पनि राजा कहलाइन्थे भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित हुन्छ। यस विषयमा विशेष अनुसन्धान पछि हुनेछ। यी राजा (सामन्त) ले टि-शोङ्ग-ढो भन्ने ठाउँ सम्म आचार्य दीपङ्करको दललाइ स्वागत गर्न आफ्ना अधिकारीहरू-लाइ पठाएका थिए र उक्त ठाउँ स्वयंभू वा निकै माथि टाढा भनि उल्लेख भएको हुँदा स्वयंभू-वाट उत्तर तर्फ भएको महशुस हुन्छ। तर उक्त स्थान कुन हो? भन्ने विषयमा यसै भन्न सकिन्न। एकातिर तराइवाट उपत्यका भित्र प्रवेश गर्ने २ मुख्य वाटो मध्ये एउटा फर्पिङ्ग भएर र एउटा बनेपा तर्फ वाट थिए। फर्पिङ्ग तर्फ वाट आएको भए बाँझ जंगलमा महत्त्वपूर्ण उक्त फर्पिङ्गमा आचार्य पुगेको उल्लेख जोवनीमा हुनुपर्ने हो। अर्को बनेपा तर्फ वाट आएका भए पहिले नै बाल-पोको उल्लेख हुनु नपर्ने हो। तिनताका केन्द्रीय सरकार पनि भक्तपुरमा नै

थियो मन्नेकुरा ऐतिहासिकपत्र वाटै पुष्टि हुन्छ। त्यसैले पहिले त्यतै आचार्यको स्वागत हुनु पर्दथ्यो।

अब अन्त्यमा अतीश दीपङ्करको तिब्बत यात्राको तिथिमिति वारेमा यहाँ थोरै चर्चा गरौं: हुनत अलका चट्टोपाध्यायले यस विषयमा राम्रो संग तुलनात्मक अध्ययन सहित निर्णय दिनुभएको छ। (चट्टोपाध्याय: ३०७-३०८) जस अनुसार सरत चन्द्र दासले पेश गर्नुभएको ३ थरो मिति जुन ई.सं. १०३८ (दास १८८१:२३७) मा आचार्य दीपङ्करले विक्रमशीलाबाट प्रस्थान गरे भन्ने राय, लेमीले पेशनुभएको ई.सं. १०४० (लेमी १६०५-८:२३७) त्यस्तै डि.सि. भट्टाचार्यले पेश गर्नु भएको ई.सं. १०४१ मा आचार्यले मौटकोलागि प्रस्थान गरे भन्ने राय (भट्टाचार्य १८८१:२३७) समेत सपाचैथरौ रायको सके साथ खण्डन गरि आफ्नो राय चट्टो-पाध्यायले पेश गर्नु भएको छ। रमेश चन्द्र मजुमदार र सुनिति कुमार चटर्जीले त दीपङ्कर ई.सं. १०३५ तिर तिब्बत गएको पनि भनका छन्। (मजुमदार १६४३:१४५, ३८७) चट्टोपाध्यायको निर्णय अनुसार अतीश तिब्बतको लागि प्रस्थान गरेको ई.सं. १०४०, काठमाडौँमा १ वर्ष बसेको ई.सं. १०४१ र तिब्बतको ऊरो पुगेको १०४२ हो। (चट्टोपाध्याय: ३२१) वास्तवमा विभिन्न आधार सासगरो नागू-हो लो-चा-वाको जन्ममित्तिबाट र उनो दीपङ्करलाई लिन विक्रमशीला पुग्दाको उमेर (वर्ष २७) र उनो त्यहाँ आचार्यको लागि पर्सिएको १८ महिना अर्थात् २ वर्ष जोड्दा १०११+२७+२=१०४० ई.सं. हुनेहुँदा यहि राय स्वोकार्य देखिन्छ। नागू-होको तिथिमिति दीपङ्करको जोवनो बाहेक अन्यत्रबाट पनि थाह लाग्दछ। सासगरी नागू-हो को विहार र धर्मस्वामिको तिथिमित्तिबाट पनि यस वारेमा प्रष्ट हुन्छ। माथि उल्लेख गरिसकिएको छ्कि, नागू-होको विहारमा एहि धर्मस्वामिलाइ प्रमुख बनाइ राखिएको थियो।

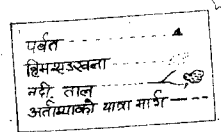


पहिले भू
अतीया
यात्रा

धौलागिरी
राकेशताल
मानसरोवर
तिब्बत
माइलेरी
ताक्लाकोट की चोटी
शेरावा
जुम्ला
नैनाताल
लुङ्गिपल्लिगोष्मा
शुक्तिनाथ
धौलागिरी
पोखरा
पाल्पा
काठमाडौं

पर्वत
हिमश्रृङ्खला
नदी ताल
अतीयाको यात्रा मार्ग

२० १० ० ५० ८० ८५ कि.मी.



२०० सि.एन.ए.एस.जर्नल, भौलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

परिशिष्ट

लेखमा प्रयोग भएका तिब्बती ठाउँकानाम, मानिसकानाम र अन्य शब्दहरूको विवरण

व्यक्तिका नाम:

लेखमा	तिब्बती लिपिमा	देवनागरीमा	नेपाली वा संस्कृत अर्थ
जो-वो-जे अतोशा	ཇོ་བོ་ཇེ་འཏོ་ཤ།	जो-वो-जै अ-ली-श	दोपद्कर श्रीजान
डोम-तोन्	འཇོ་མ་སྟོན།	डोम-सुतोन्	तिब्बतका एक लामा
{सुम्-पा-लैन्-पो ये-से पाल्-ज्योर	གསུམ་པ་ལའི་ན་པོ་ཤེ་སེ་པལ་ཇའོ།	{सुम्-प-मलन्-पो ये-से दपल्-ज्योर	११
{ल्हा-लामा- ये-से-होर खोर-दे	ལྷ་མ་ལམ་ཤེ་སེ་ཤེ་ཤོར།	{ल्ह-वल्-म-ये-सै-डौद् खोर-ल्दे -	देवगुल्लु ज्ञान-प्रम गुगेका राजा
ग्या-चोन्-दुए-सेद्-गे	རྒྱལ་ཇོ་ན་དུའ་སེད་ཀེ།	ग्य-चोन्-गुसु-सैद्-गे	{वीर्य सिंह (तिब्बती दोभाषी)
ज्याङ्-क्यु-होर	རྒྱལ་ཇོ་ཤོར།	ज्याङ्-कु-डौद्	बोधिमद्र
नाग्-हो कुल-ठोम ग्याल्-वा	རྒྱལ་ཇོ་ལུ་ཐོམ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་བ།	नाग्-हो-कुल्-छिम्-ग्यल-व	जयशील
लाङ्-दार-मा	ལྷ་ངར་མ།	गुल्-दार-म	तिब्बतका बुद्धधर्मका बिरोधि १ राजाको नाम
गोर लो-वा-वा	རྒྱལ་ལོ་བ་བ།	गोस्-लो-व-व	क्षितिगर्भ वा भूमिगर्भ
क्याग लो-वा-वा क्योर -जे पाल	{ཆལ་ལོ་ཅོ་བ། ཆེ་ཤེ་པལ་བ།	{क्याग्-लो-व-वा-होस्- रजै-दपल्-	{धर्म स्वामि १ जना तिब्बती दोभाषी
रिन्-कैन्-हो	རིན་ཆེན་ཤོར།	रिन्-कैन्-हो	रत्न रक्षित
ङाग्-वाङ्-निमा	ངལ་བཟང་ཤེ་མ།	ङाग्-द्वङ्- श्री-म	१ जना तिब्बती लामाको नाम
ङ-री	མང་རི་ལ།	मङ्-ङ-रिस्	पश्चिम तिब्बतको दौत्र
ङ-री म्ये	མང་རི་ལ་མྱེ།	मङ्-ङ-रिस्-रुम्	तल्लो ङ-री
गारलोग पा	གར་ལོག་པ།	गर-लोग्- प	{पश्चिम तिब्बतको एक स्थान {र त्यहाँका जातो
गुङ् थाङ् पा	གུང་ཐང་པ།	गुङ्-थङ्- प	{तिब्बतको जोङ्-सा नजिकको एक ठाउँ र त्यहाँका निवासी
टि-शोङ्-डो टि-शोङ् भारो	ཐི་ཤོང་ཏོ (ཐི་ཤོང་པ་རོ)	छि-शोङ्-डो (छि-शोङ्-व-रो)	काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका एकजना भारो (भारादार) को नाम
पाल्पोही थाङ्	པལ་པོ་ཤེ་ཐང་།	पल्-पोही-थङ्	पाल्पोको फाँट वा उपत्यका
वाल्पोही थाङ्	བལ་པོ་ཤེ་ཐང་།	पल्-पोहो थङ्	{वाल्पो= काठमाडौं को उपत्यका वा फाँट

ठाउका नामः

लेखमा	तिब्बती लिपिमा	देवनागरीमा	नेपाली वा संस्कृत अर्थ
होल्	ཨོལ	होल्-ख	खर्कम्-काठमाडौं शहर बीचको कुनै स्थानको प्राचीन नाम
जोङ्-का/जोङ्-खा	རྫོང་ཀ་རྫོང་ཁ།	रजोङ्-द कर /जोङ् म् कर	{ गुङ् थाङ्को राजधानी स्वत कित्ला वा कित्ला दरबार
या-हे	-ཡེ་ཧེ།	या-हे	{ बुम्ता रण साम्राज्यको पुरानो तिब्बती नाम
पु-राङ्	ཕུ་རང་།	सुपुङ्-रङ्-सु	पश्चिम तिब्बतको एक प्रान्त
लो-बो	ལོ་བོ།	ग्लो-बो/व्लो-बो	मुस्ताङ् राज्यको तिब्बती नाम
गुगे	གུ་གེ།	गु-गे	पश्चिम तिब्बतको १ राज्य
सा-लाग्-दो-लाग्	ས་ལྷག་དྲོ་ལྷག་	स-लहग्-रदो-लहग्	चावहित स्तुपको तिब्बती नाम
थो-लिङ्	ཐོ་ལིང་།	थो-लिङ्	गुगेको १ गोन्पा
माङ्-युल	མང་ཡུལ་།	मङ्-युल्	पश्चिम तिब्बतको १ प्रान्त
नाङ्-पो	གཏུང་པོ།	ग्वङ्-पो	तिब्बतमा वृम्हपुत्रको नाम
का-पाही-बुग्-लाग्-साङ्	ཀ་པ་ཧི་བུ་ག་ལ་ག་སང་།	कपहो-गुग्-लाग्-सङ्	गहिली विहार शं वहि
गोङ्-ल्हा-ल्हा-साङ्	གོང་ལྷ་ལྷ་སང་།	गोङ्-ल्ह-ल्ह-सङ्	माथिल्लो विहार शं वा
{ ह्यो-क्यो-योङ्-क्यो- बुग्-लाग्-साङ्	{ རྫོང་ཀ་རྫོང་ཁ་ ཀ་པ་ཧི་བུ་ག་ལ་ག་སང་།	{ क्रीस्-क्यो-द्वयोङ्-क्यो- गुग्-लाग्-सङ्	धर्मधातु विहार शं वहि
याङ्-दोग्-गोन्पा	རྫོང་ཀ་རྫོང་ཁ་རྫོང་པ།	द्वयोङ्-स-सुगोस्-दगोन्-प	याङ्-दोग्-विहार तिब्बतको
<u>ग्रन्थहरू:</u>			
देव-थेर-डोन्-पो	དེའུ་ཐེར་རྫོང་པོ།	देव-थेर-गुङ्-डोन्-पो	जिलो पुस्तक- वुल् रगल्
देव-थेर-मार-पो	དེའུ་ཐེར་མར་པོ།	देव-थेर-दमार-पो	रातो पुस्तक- रेट रगल्
पाग्-साम्-जोन्-साङ्	པ་ག་སམ་རྫོང་པོ་སང་།	दाग्-बुग्-जोन्-वसाङ्	{ भाषा अनुवाद तिब्बती वाक्पत्र ग्रन्थ
तेन्-ग्वा	ཏེན་གྲུ་།	वसन्-ग्वा	

२०२ सि.एन.ए.एस.जर्नल, मीलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

विहारहरू:

<u>लेखमा</u>	<u>तिब्बती लिपिमा</u>	<u>देवनागरीमा</u>	<u>नेपाली वा संस्कृत वर्ण</u>
अन्यः			
लो-वा-वा	ལོ་བ་བ།	लो-व-व	दीमा ची
हैन्-पो	ཆེན་པོ།	हैन्-पो	ठूलो / प्रमुखा
नाम्-थर	རྒྱལ་མཚན།	रन्म्-थर	जोवनी
ढङ्-रख	གཏུང་རལ།	गडुङ्-रखस्	राज इतिहास
ओम्-मानि-पैमे-हुं	ཨོཾ་མཆི་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་ཨུཾ།	ऊं-मणि-पद्मे- हुं	
सा-क्या पा	ས་སྐུ་པ།	स-सक्य- प	{ तिब्बतको एक स्थान त्यहाँको धर्म संप्रदाय
दे-ने-वाल-युल-डु-ने-पोहो-	དེ་ནས་ལས་ཡུལ་དུ་གཞུགས་	दे-नस्-खल्-युल्-डु-गुनस्-	त्यसपछि काठमाडौंमा मारको
खाङ् पर ज्योन्-पे	མཐོང་པར་ཕྱུགས་པ།	जोङ्गो-गङ् पर-ज्योन्-पे	घरमा गएँ ।

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थहरू

(नेपाली तथा हिन्दी)

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खश राज्य, जुम्ला, वफाङ्ग र कुमाउँका केही

अभिलेख

सूर्यमणि अधिकारी

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रको तत्त्वावधानमा संवाहित नेपालको राष्ट्रिय इतिहास अनुसन्धान परियोजना अन्तर्गत पश्चिम नेपालका विभिन्न जिल्ला-हरूको अध्ययन क्रमणका अवसरमा प्राप्त खश राज्य, जुम्ला, वफाङ्ग र कुमाउँका केही अभिलेखलाई संक्षिप्त परिचय र व्याख्या सहित यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

संख्या १

पृथ्वीमल्लको शाके १२७१ को ताम्रपत्र

यो ताम्रपत्र बाजुरा सिंगाडाका मोतिराम जैसीका घरमा सुरक्षित छ। यसको पाठ योगी श्री नरहरिनाथजी र उहाँका शिष्य श्री वद्रीनाथ योगी र श्री पद्मनाथ योगीका सौजन्यबाट प्राप्त भएको हो। यस अभिलेखको पुष्करमा देवैपट्टि शंख, चन्द्र, सूर्य, खड्ग आदि निशाना र पृथ्वीमल्लको छाप "मल्ल पृथ्वी" अंकित छन्।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति॥ श्रोमतिसेज्जाभियानवरनगरे गरुडध्वजावतारा (पा)
२. रससारसागरोत्तार सेतुभूतापघन श्रीघनाराधनाधिगत प्राज्य
३. राज्यरक्षाक्षम प्रचंड निजमुजदंड चंडिम समाक्रांत विराटपी
४. ठाधिष्ठित प्रतिष्ठितेष्ट देवता परिचर्या परायण राजवलि नारा
५. यण गार्ग्यायण गौतमादि प्रणीत राजनीतिशास्त्र प्रवीणप्रष्ट अ
६. पार...राजजगज्ज्येष्ठ अदीक्षितराजदीक्षाशिक्षागुरु राजतारा
७. तरणि प्रभृति विरुदावली विराजमान परममद्वारकमहारा
८. जाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमन्पृथ्वीमल्लदेवपादाः सांतः पुराः
९. सपरिवाराः सर्वत्र विजयिनः॥ श्री शाके १२७१ कार्तिक बहुल
१०. एकादश्या । गुरुवासरे॥ राइको आदेश
११. अकुल्लिका अधिकारि कार्कि प्र

२०६ सि.स.ए.एस.जर्नल, मौलम १३, नं.२ (अप्रिल १९८६)

१२. ति आ १ सुद्रुभाट। आन।। कदुँनको दौमु जोइसि आ १ सेठिको उम्राका अ
१३. धालाको तियालो आसघालि आलो पु-याइ शौभाकु (कर) आ १ हिरुभाट। राहुमा
१४. दु स्कत्र आ ३।। दोहोलि सर्वकर अकर करि सुह (द्र)द भाट । दौ
१५. मु जोइसि.शौभाकु. हिरुभाट राहुभाट पसाकरि अक्न्या कुं
१६. मुडालि पेटालि. मोइ अपुतालि कोहि लैन नपाव । यो भाषा प
१७. पृथ्वीमल्लकि शाखा पसाकरि अक्न । सिंघाडिकि शाखा चेलिको
१८. चेलो मुच अत्र साक्षिणाः सूर्यचंद्रमसौ, बुद्ध धर्म संघाः र
१९. त्न वच राउलाः अहामि राउला जुगराज राउला ।

व्याख्या

बाद्रीं शताब्दीको प्रारंभतिर खस राजा नागराजले जुम्ला जिल्लामा पर्ने सिन्जा उपत्यकालाई राजधानी बनाई पश्चिम नेपालमा खस अधिराज्यको स्थापना गरेका थिए । नागराजका उत्तराधिकारीहरूमा क्राचल्ल, अशोकल्ल, जितारिमल्ल, आदित्यमल्ल, पुण्यमल्ल, पृथ्वीमल्ल आदिले खस राज्यको गौरवलाई अझ बढाएका थिए।^१ उत्कर्षका दिनहरूमा खस राज्यमा संपूर्ण पश्चिम नेपाल, दक्षिण-पश्चिमी तिब्बत, कुमाउँ र गढवाल समेत समावेश थिए।^२ पृथ्वीमल्ल पनि खस राज्यका प्रतापी राजाहरूमध्ये एक थिए। उनी नागराजका दशौं उत्तराधिकारी थिए। प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र आदेश यिनै पृथ्वीमल्लले जारी गरेको देखिन्छ ।

यस अभिलेखमा खस राज्यका ग्रेष्मकालीन राजधानी सिन्जा र शीतकालीन राजधानी विराटपीठ (दुल्लु) को पनि उल्लेख छ। सडटा विकसित नगरको रूपमा सिन्जाको उल्लेख गरिएको छ भने परम पावन धार्मिक स्थलको रूपमा दुल्लुको महत्त्व दर्शाइएको छ। दुल्लु वरपर शिरस्थान, नाभिस्थान र पादुकास्थान नामका तीन ज्वालाक्षेत्र तथा धुलेश्वर र हुँगेश्वर गरी पाँचवटा धार्मिक स्थल भएकोले दुल्लुलाई विराटपीठ पनि भनिन्थ्यो ।

पृथ्वीमल्ल बौद्ध धर्मका ठूला उपासक भए तापनि हिन्दू धर्म प्रति पनि उनी उत्तिकै श्रद्धा राख्दथे भन्ने कुरा यस अभिलेखबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ। यसमा एकातिर उनले आफूलाई "श्रीधनारा-धनाधिगतप्राज्यराज्यरत्नाक्षम" (बुद्धको आराधना गर्नाले विशाल राज्यको रक्षागर्न समर्थ भएका) भनेका र दानपत्रका साक्षीका रूपमा बौद्ध त्रै (बुद्ध, धर्म र संघ) लाई राखेका छन् भने यसका साथै आफूलाई गरुडध्वजावतार (विष्णुका अवतार) भनेका; गार्ग्यायण, गौतम आदि हिन्दू कृषिमुनिद्वारा प्रणीत नीतिशास्त्र वमोजिम शासन संचालन गर्न आफूनी प्रतिवद्धता व्यक्त गरेका; परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर भन्ने स्वतन्त्र हिन्दू राजाले लिने गरेको विरुद्ध धारण गरेका र हिन्दू ब्राम्हणलाई भूमिदान दिएर सम्मान पनि प्रकट गरेका छन्। यसबाट पृथ्वीमल्लको पालामा खस राजदरबारमा हिन्दू र बौद्ध धर्ममा कुनै भेदभाव गरिदैनथ्यो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

खश राज्य, जुम्ला, २०७

यस ताम्रपत्रमा अधिकारी, कार्की, माट, जोइसी र राउला जस्ता पद र पदाधिकारी-हरूको पनि उल्लेख आएको छ। त्यसवखत अधिकारी र कार्की न्यायिक तथा प्रशासनिक पद थिए। राजाका प्रशस्ति गायक ब्राह्मणहरूलाई माट भनिन्थ्यो। ज्योतिषीबाट अपमृश भएर जोइसी र कालान्तरमा जैसी बन्न गएको हो। पृथ्वीमल्लको यस ताम्रपत्रबाट जोइसी ब्राह्मणलाई पनि कुनै कर नलाग्ने गरी विर्ता जग्गा दिई सम्मान गरेको देखिएकोले त्यसवखत उपाध्याय र जैसी ब्राह्मणमा कुनै भेदभाव गरिदैनथ्यो भन्ने प्रष्ट हुन्छ। राउला भन्ने पद-चाहीँ राजपुत्रको पर्यायवाची भएको बुझिन्छ।

पृथ्वीमल्लले १३३८ ई. देखि १३५८ ई. सम्म कम्तिमा पनि बीस वर्ष राज्य चलाएका प्रमाण प्राप्त भएका छन्।^३ प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र आदेश पृथ्वीमल्लद्वारा त्यसै अवधि भित्र अर्थात् शाके १२७१ (१३४६ ई.) मा जारी गरिएको थियो।

संख्या २

जयसिंहको दुल्लु वालमैरव मन्दिर नैरको शिलालेख

दुल्लुमा वालमैरवको मन्दिर नजीकै एक शिलास्तम्भमा यो अभिलेख अंकित छ। यस अभिलेखमा भएको संवत्को एकस्थानी अंक अस्पष्ट छ र यो अंक ६ हो कि जस्तो देखिन्छ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

ओं मणि पद्मे (हुं)

स्तत्पुण्यफलाज्जीयात्पृथ्वीमल्लनृपश्चिरम् ।

जयसिधेन णाढाक्षर्यभिनिर्मापिता शिला ॥

श्री शा. १२७ (६) ॥

व्याख्या

दुल्लुमा जयेश्वर भर्मीको देवलको दक्षिणाभिमुख ढोकाका दायाँतिर पेटोमा थिने जय-सिंहले शाके १२७७ मा स्थापना गराएको अर्को सट्टा शिलालेख योगी नरहरिनाथद्वारा पहिले प्रकाशित भइसकेको छ।^४ यस प्रमाणबाट पनि यहाँ प्रस्तुत शिलालेख शाके १२७० देखि १२७६ बीचको हुनुपर्छ भन्ने देखिन्छ। जयसिंहले कुनै धार्मिक कार्य सम्पन्न गरेको उपलक्षमा यो शिला-लेख स्थापना गराई त्यस कार्यको पुण्यले गर्दा गद्दीनसीन राजा पृथ्वीमल्ल चिरंजीवी रहून् भन्ने कामना व्यक्त गरेका छन्। यसबाट जयसिंह पृथ्वीमल्लको कृपा प्राप्त गरी भारदार वा

२०८ सि.स्न.ए.स्स.जर्नल, मौलम १३, नं.२ (अप्रिल १९८६)

अमृत्य जस्तो कुनै महत्त्वपूर्ण पदमा आसीन रहेको बुझिन्छ। अनुस्वार परको 'हे' को स्थानमा 'घे' को वैकल्पिक उच्चारण गर्ने चलन प्राचीन कालदेखि नै चलेर आएको हो। यस्तै, यस अभिलेखमा पनि जयसिंहलाई जयसिंघ मनी लेखिएको छ।

संख्या ३

जुम्लाका राजा वलिराजको शाके १३२२ को ताम्रपत्र

यो ताम्रपत्र मुगु कालै गाउँका श्री श्रीराम देवकोटाका घरमा प्राप्त भएको हो। यसको पाठ योगी श्री नरहरिनाथजी र उहाँका शिष्य श्री वट्टीनाथ योगी र श्री पद्मनाथ योगीका सौजन्यबाट यहाँ प्रकाशित गरिएको छ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति॥ उत्पत्ति आदिभूत। तद्युक्त संतानो भूपतिनाम
२. वङ्स तस्यपि वङ्स वृद्धि जनित सुत पाँत्रा चातुर्वीरसूर
३. जातो उत्तीमराज जगवरि विज्ञातो तस्यपुत्र स चात भूयोश
४. द्व वैराटपुर नृपते श्री वलीराज नृप। तेन वलिराजेन पु
५. ण्यार्थेन तिलकुस सहित भूमिदानं सैकल्पितं। चातुर्वेदश्च घ
६. र्मिष्ठगुनविद्या विसेणत। सद्रूपदुधराज विप्रेन धार्य॥
७. श्रीशाके १३२२ फाल्गुन मासे सुक्लपक्षी दिनगत ३ नक्षत्र ७ तिथी
८. १२ वार ५ जुमला स्थाने सुवर्नहारनाम नगरे लिखितं पंढी
९. त वल्लालेन सुभमस्तु॥ आलि २ कृत्तिस कर अकर। सर्व
१०. दोष निर्दोष॥ घरासको आलो माफसतको आलो गोठिपालि
११. को वन।

व्याख्या

खश राज्यको विघटनपछि वलिराजले जुम्लामा कल्याणवंशको शासन स्थापना गरे। यस ताम्रपत्रमा उनलाई क्षत्रिय कुलोत्पन्न शूरवीर उत्तमराजका छोरा थिए भनिएको छ। उनले खश राज्यको राजधानी सिन्जाको सट्टा जुम्लाको सुनारगाउँलाई राजधानी बनाए। यस

अभिलेखमा सुवर्नहार नामको नगर भनेर यही सुनारगाउँलाई भनिएको देखिन्छ। सुनारगाउँ जुम्ला उपत्यकामा तातोपानी नजीकै पर्दछ। पछि उनका उत्तराधिकारीहरूले जुम्ला राज्यको राजधानी सुनारगाउँबाट हिनासिममा सारे।

खश राज्यको विघटनका साथै कर्नाली प्रदेशमा बौद्ध धर्मको प्रभाव पनि द्रुततर गतिले क्षीण भयो। यस ताम्रपत्रमा बौद्ध धर्म र तत्सम्बन्धी प्रतीकहरूको उल्लेखसम्म गरिएको छैन तर चारै वेद र ब्राह्मणप्रति सम्मान प्रकट गरेर वलिराजले हिन्दू धर्ममा आफ्नो प्रवल आस्था व्यक्त गरेका छन्।

यस ताम्रपत्र अनुसार राजा वलिराजले मुगु कालै गाउँका स्कजना ब्राह्मणलाई शाके १३२२ (१४०० ई.) मा कुशविर्ता दिएको देखिन्छ। यस अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित भूमिदान दिएको स्थानहरूमा घरासको आलो (सेत) र गौठीपालीको वन कालै नजीकै गिलाहामा र माफसेत कालैमा नै पर्दछन्।

संख्या ४

वभाङ्गका सुमतिवर्मको शाके १३४३ को ताम्रपत्र

यो ताम्रपत्र बाजुराका राजा श्री गजेन्द्रहादुर शाहका कोटघरमा प्राप्त भएको हो। यस अभिलेखको पुष्करमा देव्रेपट्टि शंख र खड्ग निशाना अंकित छन्।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति॥ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः॥ श्रीमति स्वस्तिक नद्यावर्त लवक द्विशाल त्रिशाल चतुः शाल सु
२. धाधवल सौधोत्संगीत कामिनीकलकलाकुलितकलश द्रवमनोहरेत्॥ श्री राजराजा
३. धिनाथ। परममद्वारक। परमवैष्णव। श्री पश्चिमाभिधाने रिपु मल्लस्य राज्ये। श्री
४. प्रिथ्वीनाथस्य विजय राज्ये। श्री रिपुमल्लश्चसपरिवारश्चिरं जयतु॥ श्री जावेश्वर रा
५. जाधिराज। परममद्वारक। र जिनचरणाराधन कुसलस्य। शक्तिवर्मण। समेर
६. वर्मण। सुमतिवर्मण तस्य विजय राज्ये वजांग्यानाम दुर्गस्य। सान्तपुर सपरिवार
७. श्चिरं जयतु॥ श्री शाके १३४३ मासे १० तिथौ. वाशरे ६ श्री राजराजेश्वर सुमतिवर्म रज्
८. वालै काटै गांवका आला २ पातलिका अधाला सहित नवाकोटको आलो डेढ नाद्रिस
९. दिदस स्याउद्या (स्या) विसौनिका अधाड उधो। तिले कुशे संकल्प करि दोहोतिदत्त कि सु

१०. मतिवर्म पशा कियो। सुमेशर उपाध्याले णयो। सुमति वर्मको चेलाइको चेलो दे
 ११. सुमेशर उपाध्याको चेलाइको चेलो मुँव। सर्वकर अकर। सर्वदोष विशुद्ध। चोरि। जा
 १२. रि। मुहालि पेटालि। नाठ पैठ। आकासको ढिडो। पातालकि निधु। एति दोष
 विशुद्धः॥
 १३. अत्र साक्षि॥ सूर्यचंद्र। भूमंडलका साक्षि। अमात्या अमैराज थापा आ
 १४. दिव राउला। नरुथापा। सौहृद थापा। गाजिवं थापा। देउवं थापा। चंद्र
 १५. वं थापा। पिथु रौकाया। कैसु राउत्। सारू षेंडगाहा। यो ताम्रपत्रको ग
 १६. डो जो घाल घलाव तस्कि स्कै सै पुरूषा महारौरव नर्क पद्। जो यो माष,
 १७. प्रतिपाल सौ पुण्य पाइया। स्वदत्ता परदत्त वा। ये हरंति वसुंधरा। ष
 १८. ष्ठी वर्ष सहस्राणि। वृष्टाया जायते कृमि। शुभं॥ ॥
 १९. लिखित साक्षि जसु देवज्ञे।

व्याख्या

सश राज्यको जमानामा डोटीका पालहरू स्थानीय सामन्तका रूपमा थिए। सश राज्य-
 को विघटनपछि कर्नाली प्रदेशमा अस्तित्वमा आएका राज्यहरूमा डोटी र जुम्ला प्रमुख र अल्-
 मन्दा विशेष शक्तिशाली हुन गए। अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त प्रमाण अनुसार निरयपाल डोटी राज्य-
 का प्रथम प्रामाणिक राजाका रूपमा देखा परेका छन्। उनले स्वतन्त्र राजाका हैसियतले जारी
 गरेका शाके १२७४ र शाके १२८४ का दुई ताम्रपत्र आदेशहरू प्राप्त भएका छन्।^६ यसको लगभग
 २५ वर्षपछि उनका छोरा नागमल्ल पुनः डोटीका स्वतन्त्र राजाका हैसियतमा देखा पर्दछन्।
 उनको शाके १३०६ को अभिलेख प्राप्त भएको छ।^७ प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित रिपुमल्ल थिए
 नागमल्लका छोरा थिए। वफाङ्गी राजाले जारी गरेको यस ताम्रपत्रमा डोटीका राजा रिपु-
 मल्लको सम्मानपूर्वक उल्लेख गर्नु पर्ने स्थिति गरेको देखिँदा त्यसवखत वफाङ्गी डोटी राज्यको
 अधीनमा रहेछ र स्थानीय शासन चलाउने अधिकार मात्र वफाङ्गी राजालाई प्राप्त भएको
 रहेछ भन्ने देखिन्छ।

यस ताम्रपत्र आदेशमा शक्तिवर्म, समैरवर्म र सुमतिवर्म वफाङ्गीका सहशासकको हैसियतमा
 देखा परेका छन्। तर ताम्रपत्र अनुसारको भूमि भने सुमतिवर्म एकैले प्रदान गरेको देखिन्छ। किन-
 भने अभिलेखको नवौँ र दशौँ पंक्तिमा 'सुमतिवर्म पशा कियो' (सुमतिवर्मले प्रदान गर्नु भयो)
 भन्ने स्पष्ट गरिएको छ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा सउटे राजालाई परम भट्टारक। परमवैष्णव भनिएकोले शैव र वैष्णव
 मतमा विशेष भेद गरिदैनथ्यो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट भएको छ। 'पृथ्वीनाथस्य विजयराज्ये' भन्ने
 उल्लेख भएकाले त्यसवखत कर्नाली प्रदेशतिर नाथ सम्प्रदायको निकै प्रभाव थियो भन्ने कुरा

सश राज्य, जुम्ता, २११

बुफिन्क। यस अभिलेखमा आस्का थापा, सद्गा, रौकाया, राउत आदि प्रारंभमा दर्जाका नाम थिए, कालान्तरमा थरमा परिणत भएका हुन्।

संख्या ५

कुमाउँका राजा भारतीचन्दकी रानी कुवेरमालाको शाके १३६६ को ताम्रपत्र

यो ताम्रपत्र जुम्ता खत्याड दरा सुनाढिका श्री वीरसिंहका घरमा पाइएको हो। बसाइँ सरे क्रममा वीरसिंहका कुनै पूर्वजले यस ताम्रपत्रलाई कुमाउँबाट जुम्तातिर लिएर आएको बुफिन्क। यसको पाठ योगी श्री नरहरिनाथजी र उहाँका शिष्य श्री पद्मनाथ योगीका सौजन्यबाट प्राप्त भएको हो।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति श्री शाके १३६६ माघमासे मकर संक्रांति दिने आदित्य
२. वासरे राजाधिराज श्री भारतीचंद्र विजय राज्ये राणी श्री
३. पट्टमहादेवो कुवेरमालाले संकल्पपूर्वक करि भूमि पशाकरि मा
४. उर्म कठाले पाइ मडलक भागल पाउका मंशा ५ पाया हुनु पांच
५. मशाल गति घर कुडि वण कौडि गाड घट्ट लेक इजर नाठ नद्यालि गढि
६. लि पैटिलि आकासको ढिडो पाताल कि निधि उड्डो डोडो सर्वकर
७. अकर सर्व द्वेष विशुद्ध करि पाइ राणी श्री कुवेरमालाकि संततिले मु
८. चावृणि भाउर्मकि संततिले मुवाणि अन्यथा नास्ति॥ पत्र साक्षी शि
९. गारचंद विष्णुदासपाडे अनेकु उत्तिमराज सालिवाहन मौणिनाथ वो
१०. हरो जशु मडारि गुजु राउत विशु पाडे शिरराज विष्ट थलु विष्ट हरि
११. गणविष्ट रिठुवडा गिगमिरा मडारि जैतु वोहरो गोल मडारी मिष सैटि
१२. मिउर वाग सुर्जमवाल मिउराजकेकडिया चारु थानु पंद्रविस वाइ २२
१३. राहस॥ स्वदत्ता व (प) रदत्ता वा यो हरञ्च वसुंधरा णष्टिवर्ण सहस्राणि विष्टायां
१४. जायते कृमि॥ लिखितपाडे तेन बलुयाहुं कठारितं॥ सुमस्तु॥

व्याख्या

सिन्जाली सश नरेश कृाचल्लदेवले १२२३ ई. मा कुमाउँमा आक्रमण गरी अधिकार गरेका थिए। उनका छोरा अशोकचल्लले कुमाउँभन्दा अफ पश्चिमको गढवाल पनि विजय

२१२ सि.एन.ए.एस.जर्नल, मोलम १३, नं.२ (अप्रिल १९८६)

गरे।^९ यसरी १२२३ ई. मा पश्चिम नेपालको खश राज्यको अधीनमा आएपछिको कुमाउँ राज्यको पुनः स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व देखिने पहिलो प्रमाण त्यहाँका राजा गुरु ज्ञानचन्दको १३६७ अथवा १३७१ ई. को राईगाउँको स्तम्भलेख हो।^{१०} यतिखेर सिन्जामा सूर्यमल्ल राजा थिए र खश राज्य विघटन हुँदै थियो।^{११} यसप्रकार, खश राज्यको अधीनताबाट कुमाउँलाई स्वतन्त्र तुल्याउने गुरु ज्ञानचन्द नै रहेछन् कि भन्ने देखिन्छ।

प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेख भएका राजा भारतीचन्द यिनै गुरु ज्ञानचन्दका कौटौँ उत्तराधिकारी थिए।^{१२} भारतीचन्द र उनका छोरा रतनचन्दले ढोटीमा आक्रमण गरी १२ वर्ष-सम्म युद्ध गरेर ढोटीलाई पराजित गरी कर तिर्न बाध्य तुल्याएका थिए भन्ने चर्चा एडकिन्सनले गरेका छन्।^{१३} यो ताम्रपत्र भारतीचन्दकी पट्टराज्ञी कुवेरमालाले शाके १३६६ (१४७७ ई.) को मकर संक्रान्तिका दिन माउशर्मा नामक ब्राह्मणलाई भूमिदान दिँदा जारी गरिएको हो।

यस दानपत्र र तात्कालिक पश्चिम नेपालका दानपत्रका लेखनशैली, भाषा, र तिनमा उल्लेख आएका जातिय थरहरू मिल्दाजुल्दा देखिन्छन्। यसबाट कुमाउँ र पश्चिम नेपाल बीच प्राचीनकालदेखि नै विद्यमान भाषा, जाति र सांस्कृतिक समानता दृष्टिगोचर हुन्छ। कुमाउँको चन्द राजपरिवारलाई रजपुत क्षत्रिय माने तापनि यस ताम्रपत्रमा दृष्टसाक्षीका रूपमा रहेका विभिन्न मारदारहरूमा खश जातिका वोहरा, मंडारी, राउत, बुडा, सेटी आदि छन्। यसका साथै ण्डे, विष्ट आदि थर भएका मानिसहरूको पनि प्रस्तुत अभिलेखमा उल्लेख आएको छ। ण्डे, विष्ट आदि कुमाउँबाट नै नेपालमा प्रवेश गरेका मानिन्छन् र यिनीहरूलाई अहिले-सम्म पनि नेपालमा "कुमाई" भनिन्छ।

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ज्यम्पा (ज्यम्-प) गुम्बाको करक्यागमा उल्लेखित
तिथिमितिहरू: बूली (मुस्ताङ्) राज्यको
ऐतिहासिक कालक्रम-स्क चर्चा

जगमान गुरुङ

बूली (मुस्ताङ्) को इतिहास एवं सांस्कृतिक सम्पदाको अनुसन्धान गर्ने सिलसिलामा त्यस क्षेत्रमा अवस्थित गुम्बाहरूको अध्ययन गर्दा बूली (मुस्ताङ्) राज्यको ऐतिहासिक कालक्रम निर्धारण गर्नको लागि सट्टा बत्तियो र नयाँ श्रोत फैला परेको छ, त्यो श्रोत हो ज्यम्पा गुम्बा (दुगोन्-प) जीणाङ्गार गर्दा लेखिएको करक्याग (दुकर-क्या) ^१ ।

चराङ् गुम्बाको मौल (मोल्-गुतम्) ^२ अनुसार लो मन्थाङ् (बूली समोन्-थङ्) को प्राकार परिवेष्टित वस्ति भित्र रहेको उक्त अग्लो तीन तले प्रसिद्ध ज्यम्पा गुम्बा (मैत्रेय विहार) मुस्ताङ्का प्रथम राजा अमपाल (अ-म-दण्) का छोरा अगोस साङ्-पो (अ-पुगोन्-बुङ्-पो) ले बनाएका हुन्। ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्याग अनुसार अगोस साङ्-पोका आठौँ पुस्ताका राजा समदुब पलवर (बुसम्-गुब्-दुपल-बेर) ले भारतको शोभन र क्रोधी सम्बत्सर एवं चीनको पानी-स्त्री खरायो वर्ष (कु-मो-योस्-लो) मा यस गुम्बाको जीणाङ्गार गरेका थिए। समदुब पलवरले उक्त गुम्बा जीणाङ्गार गर्दा लेखिएको करक्याग अहिले मुस्ताङ्को होस्सार, गाफुर्ग, गुरु गुम्बाका प्रमुख लामा श्री पद्म लामाको संग्रहमा छ ।

तिब्बती उमे (दुबु-मेद्) लिपिमा लेखिएको उक्त करक्यागका २२ पत्र छन्। पत्रको लम्बाई चौडाई १२"x२१" छ। करक्यागको आदि भागमा बुद्धका प्रार्थना र अन्त भागमा मंगल वचनहरू लेखिएका छन् भने मध्य भागमा चाहिँ ज्यम्पाको मूर्तिमा गुसुङ्-सु (धारणी) को रूपमा भारतका पवित्र तीर्थस्थलहरूको माटो, स्रोङ्-चन गम्पो (स्रोङ्-बचन्-सङ्-पो) आदि राजाहरूका अस्थि धातु, महासक्यपण्डित आनन्दध्वज (स-सक्य-पण्-केन्-कुन्-दुगे-ग्यल्-मून्) आदि लामाहरूका चीवर र विभिन्न देवी देवताका धारणी मन्त्रहरू राखिएको कुरा लेखिएको छ। यी कुराहरूको आ-आफ्नै महत्त्व छन् तर अहिले यस लेखमा चर्चा गर्न खोजिएको कुरा चाहिँ उक्त करक्यागमा उल्लेख भएका विभिन्न तिथिमितिहरू मात्र हुन्।

काली गण्डकीको उद्गमस्थल भएर रहेको मुस्ताङ् मोटको उपल्लो भेकमा करीब ईस्वीको पन्ध्रौँ शताब्दीको पूर्वार्द्धदेखि सट्टा ऐतिहासिक राज्य खडा भएको देखिन्छ, जसको प्रचलित नाम बूली थियो। यस क्षेत्रको इतिहास र सांस्कृतिक सम्पदालाई लिएर ई. १९५० को दशकदेखि विदेशी विद्वान्हरूले केही न केही अध्ययन गर्दै आएका छन्। यिनमध्ये प्रमुख चाहिँ टुचि (टुचि, १९५६), स्लेन्गेव (स्लेन्गेव, १९६१) र पिसेल (पिसेल, १९६८) हुन् तर बूली

(मुस्ताङ) राज्यको सिलसिलावद्ध एवं सिद्धाँ इतिहास लेख्न प्रयास गर्ने प्रथम व्यक्ति भने डेमिड पाउल ज्याकसन हुन् (ज्याकसन, १९७६)। यिनले आफ्नो बूली (मुस्ताङ)को इतिहासको रचनाको मूल आधार बूली (मुस्ताङ) प्रदेशमै रचित मौल्य पाण्डुलिपिका विभिन्न संस्करणलाई बनाएका छन्। यसरी बूली (मुस्ताङ) को इतिहासको निमित्त मौल्य सर्वथा नौलो र ठोस ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको रूपमा हाम्रो सामु देखा पर्न आएको छ। हुनत मौल्यलाई सर्वप्रथम पता लगाउने र यसको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व छ भनेर बुझ्ने व्यक्ति भिसेल पिसेल हुन् (पिसेल, उही) तर यसको पूर्णतम ऐतिहासिक सार भने ज्याकसनले निकालेका छन् (ज्याकसन, उही)।

ज्याकसनले बूली (मुस्ताङ) राज्यको इतिहास अमपालका बाजे शेरब लामा (शेर्-ब-बल-म) (लगभग १३८० ई.) देखि अमपालका सौर्द्ध पुस्ताका राजा कुङ्गा नोर्बु (कुन्-द्गे-नोर-बु) (लगभग १८४० ई.) सम्मका मुस्ताङी राजाहरूका राज्यकालको वर्णनद्वारा प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् तापनि उनले प्रस्तुत गरेका राज्यकालहरू धेरै जसो अनुमानित मात्र छन् किनकि मौल्यमा कुनै पनि राजाको बारेमा निश्चित तिथिमिति दिइएको छैन। मौल्यका आधारमा मुस्ताङी राजाहरूको राज्यक्रम थाहा पाउन त सकिन्छ तर पक्का तिथिमिति भने विभिन्न श्रोत सामग्रीको तुलनाबाट मात्र अनुमान गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ। त्यसैले ज्याकसनले अन्य विविध प्रकाशित तिब्बती श्रोतलाई एकत्रित गरेर मात्र मुस्ताङको मोटामोटी कालक्रम किटन सकेका हुन्।

अहिले आएर ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करह्याग फैला परेकोले बूली (मुस्ताङ) राज्यको कालक्रम बारे विचार गर्नको लागि एउटा ठोस आधारशिला तयार भएको छ। उक्त करह्यागमा समदुव पलवरले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा जीर्णोद्धार गरेको वर्ष (पानी-खरायो)लाई तिब्बत र बूली (मुस्ताङ) का महत्त्वपूर्ण घटनाहरूको सापेक्षाबाट गणना गरिएको छ। अतः त्यसमा उल्लेखित तिथिमितिहरूको गणनाबाट तिब्बतका ऐतिहासिक घटनाहरूका तिथिमितिमा पुष्टि हुनुको साथै बूली (मुस्ताङ) राज्यको इतिहासको एउटा निश्चित कालक्रम तयार हुन्छ जसको तालिका तल दिइएको छ -

१. अमपालको जन्म वर्ष _____ १३८७ ई.
२. अगोस साङ-पोको जन्म वर्ष _____ १४१६ ई.
३. अमपालले मुस्ताङ राजदरबार बनाएको वर्ष _____ १४४० ई.
४. अगोस साङ-पोले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा बनाएको वर्ष _____ १४४७ ई.
५. टशि गोसले घमि गुम्बा बनाएको वर्ष _____ १५१२ ई.
६. समदुव पलवरले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा जीर्णोद्धार गरेको वर्ष १६६३ ई.
७. लद्दाखी श्रोत अनुसार कागवेणीमा जुम्ला र
मुस्ताङको युद्ध एवं सन्धि भएको वर्ष _____ १७२३ ई.

८. तेन्जिङ वाङ ग्यालले घमि दरवार र मणि खोर्ला
वनास्को वर्ष _____ १७३४ ई.
९. तेन्जिङ वाङ ग्यालले चराङ दरवारको मणि
खोर्ला वनास्को वर्ष _____ १७३४ ई.

ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको उक्त करक्यागमा तिथिमितिको उल्लेख भएको तिब्बती मागको नेपाली रूपान्तर तल प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ, तिब्बती मूलको प्रतिलिपि उतार चाहिँ लेख्ने पुकारमा दिइएको छ।

(सुगत शाक्य राजा शुद्धोदनका अतुलनीय पुत्र। सामान्य (मानिस) जस्तरी अवतीर्ण भएर तीन हजार आठ सय पचहत्तर (वर्ष) गएर। वज्रयानको पद्धतिलाई (बौद्ध धर्ममा) प्रमुख स्थापना दिलाउने, असाधारण कालचक्र स-सक्य-प सम्प्रदायमा समुद्भूत भएको दुइ हजार छ सय उनानव्वे (वर्ष) गएर। पौतलका मातिक, पद्मवान, राजाको अधिकार राम्ररी उपभोग गर्ने धर्मराज, ग्रीड-बचन्-सगम्-पो अवतीर्ण भएर एक हजार सतवालीस; भट्टारक मन्जुषीका पूर्णावतार राजा छि-ग्रीड-ल्देहु-बचन् जन्मेर नउसय चौंतीस; त्रि-कालबुद्ध, समस्त भाव, जम्बुद्वीपमा व्रतको आगमन भूमि पूर्णतः पार गरेका। उद्घियानका महान् आचार्य, दोश्रा बुद्ध, पद्मसम्भव भोटमा पुगेर नउसय पन्ध्र। गुरुकाधिपति (बज्रपाणि) को पूर्णावतार अ-म-दपल्-बसङ-पो-ग्यल्-मूकुन् जन्मेर दुइसय क्खत्तर। महा-धर्मराज अ-मूगोन्-बसङ-पो जन्मेर दुइसय चवालीस; समोन्-थङ राजदरबार बनाएर दुइसय तेइस। श्री महामैत्रेयको यो विहार बनाएर दुइसय सौद्र (वर्ष) गएर। आर्यभूमि भारतको शोभन र क्रोधी सम्वत्सर र चीनको पानी र स्त्री खरायो वर्षमा; धर्मराज अ-मूगोन्-बसङ-पोवाट क्रमैसंग आएको आठौं पुस्ता धारण गर्ने, बुद्धि र पुण्यको अम्युदय भएका नरेश्वर अ-हम्-बसम्-गुव-दपल्-बर। अ-मूहो-ग-वसन्-पहि (दो-जै-बचेस्-म-दपल्-जिन्-दवङ-मो) पिता माताबाट। सामान्यतः भगवत् (बुद्ध) धर्म रत्न फललाई फैलाउनको लागि र। विशेषगरी हिमालय पर्वतबाट श्रीसम्पन्न भएको स्थानको रमणीय। चार नदी रत्न मुहान सहित अनेकले अलंकारको दोश्रा बुद्ध पद्माकर। उत्तम अनुवाद रिन्-हेन्-बसङ-पो। महान् योगेश्वर मि-ल-रसु-प भगवान् (बुद्ध) ले अनेक सूत्रान्तवाट उपदेश गरिएका। दो-जै-हङ-कुन्-दगे-बसङ-पो आदि सुजनहरूको चरण कमलवाट अम्युदय भएको यस दिशामा (यहाँ) प्राणीहरूको पुण्यको लागि संघको विहार लामो समय सम्म रहन्छ भने त्यसको लागि विचार गर्नुपर्छ (भनेर)। विशेषगरी पिता प्रभु धर्मराज वावु आमा (दीर्घ) आयु शासन र। भक्तहरू यी सबैको कल्याण स्थापित गर्नको लागि। श्री महान् मैत्रेयको विहार मूलवाट संरक्षण गर्ने विचार गरेर। पिता प्रभु धर्मराजबाट वचन दिनु भयो।)

यसरो यस करह्यागमा ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको जीणाद्धारको मितिलाई तिब्बत र मुस्ताङका अनेकन् महत्वपूर्ण घटनाको सापेक्षमा गणना गरिएको छ। अतः ती घटनाका तिथिमितिहरू निश्चयसाथ किटनका लागि खम्बन्दा पहिले ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको जीणाद्धार भएको उक्त पानी-खरायो वर्ष ईस्वी संवत्मा कहिले पर्दछ भनेर ठम्याउन नितान्त आवश्यक छ।

तिब्बती वर्ष गणना परम्परामा वर्षलाई संख्यामा नलेखी वर्षलाई बुझाउने कुनै निश्चित नाम भएकोले त्यस्तो वर्षको नाम मात्र लेखिने हुँदा त्यसलाई ईस्वी अथवा अरु संवत्-मा परिवर्तन गर्दा धेरै विचार पुर्‍याउनु पर्ने हुन्छ। तिब्बती ज्योतिष शास्त्रमा मुसा, गोरु, बाघ, खरायो, गह्रुड, सर्प, घोडा, भैडा, बाँदर, चरा, कुरुर, सुँगुर (विय-ब, गुल्ड, सुतगु, योसु, बुगु, सुबुल, तं, लुगु, सुप्रे, व्य, ख्य, फगु) यी बाह्रवटा पशुपंक्षी र आगो, माटो, फलाम, पानी, काठ (मे, स, लुगुस, हु, शिङ्) यी पाँचवटा तत्त्व (खम्सु) को समन्वयबाट वर्ष (लो) को नामकरण गरिएको हुन्छ। वर्षको शुरू माघ शुक्ल प्रतिपदाको दिनबाट हुन्छ। महिना अभावस्यान्त हुन्छ अर्थात् शुक्ल पक्षाको प्रतिपदा तिथिलाई १ गते, पूर्णिमा तिथिलाई १५ गते, कृष्ण पक्षाको प्रतिपदा तिथिलाई १६ गते र अँसीलाई ३० गते मानिन्छ।

प्रत्येक वर्ष नयाँ वर्ष (लो-गसर) को दिन एक एकवटा लो फेरिन्छ र बाह्र वर्ष पुगे-पछि एउटा वर्ष चक्र (लो-खोर) फेरिन्छ। पाँच पटक सम्म उक्त बाह्र वर्ष चक्र फेरिए पछि ६० वर्ष पुग्दछ। साठौं वर्षको यस चक्रलाई रब्-व्युङ् (सं.प्रभव) भनिन्छ। काल-चक्रको तिब्बती भाषामा अनुवाद भएपछि १०२७ ई. देखि तिब्बतमा बृहस्पति चक्रको ६० सम्बत्सरको नयाँ क्रम जारो भएको हो (सांस्कृत्यायन, १९७६, पृ. ३७) त्यसैले १०२७ ई. देखि शुरू भएको साठौं वर्ष चक्रलाई पहिलो रब्-व्युङ् मानिन्छ। हाल चालु रहेको रब्-व्युङ् चाहिँ १९२७ ई. देखि शुरू भएको सोट्टी रब्-व्युङ् हो।

१९८६ ई. भन्दा २३ वर्ष अघि १९६३ ई. मा पानी-खरायो वर्ष परेको थियो। अतः पानी-खरायो वर्षमाने ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको जीणाद्धार भएकोले ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको जीणाद्धार भएको उक्त पानी-खरायो वर्ष १९६३ ई. भन्दा कति रब्-व्युङ् अगाडि परेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष हो त्यसको निर्धारण यहाँ गर्न परेको छ। ६० वर्ष रब्-व्युङ् चक्र अनुसार १९६३ ई. भन्दा अगाडि क्रमशः ई. १९०३, १८४३, १७८३, १७२३, १६६३ र १६०३ मा पानी-खरायो वर्ष पर्दछन्। १६०३ ई. भन्दा ६० वर्ष परेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष र १७२३ ई. भन्दा ६० वर्ष परेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष समहुव पल्लवरको समयसँग अरु प्रमाणबाट हेर्दा पनि मिल्न आउ-दैन। त्यसकारण १७२३ ई., १६६३ ई. र १६०३ ई. मा पर्ने यी तीनवटा पानी-खरायो वर्ष मध्ये ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको जीणाद्धार भएको पानी-खरायो वर्ष कुन चाहिँ हो भनेर ठम्याउन यी तीनवटा वर्षबाट गणना गरेर वास्तविकतासँग मिलाउन आवश्यक भएकोले यी तीनवटा वर्ष-बाट गणना गर्दा आएका तिब्बत र बुलौ राज्य सम्बन्धी प्रमुख घटनाहरूको तिथिमितिहरू तुलनात्मक तालिका तल प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ^३।

	१६०३ ई.वाट गणनागर्दा आस्को कालक्रम	१६६३ ई.वाट गणनागर्दा आस्को कालक्रम	१७२३ ई.वाट गणनागर्दा आस्को कालक्रम
	१६०३ -१०४७	१६६३ -१०४७	१७२३ -१०४७
१. ग्रीड-वन गम्पाको जन्म वर्ष	५५६ ई.	६१६ ई.	६७६ ई.
	१६०३ -६३४	१६६३ -६३४	१७२३ -६३४
२. ठिरोङ् देवनको जन्म वर्ष	६६६ ई.	७२६ ई.	७८६ ई.
	१६०३ -६१५	१६६३ -६१५	१७२३ -६१५
३. पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष	६८८ ई.	७४८ ई.	८०८ ई.
	१६०३ -२७६	१६६३ -२७६	१७२३ -२७६
४. अमपालको जन्म वर्ष	१३२७ ई.	१३८७ ई.	१४४७ ई.
	१६०३ -२४४	१६६३ -२४४	१७२३ -२४४
५. अगोएन साङ् पोको जन्म वर्ष	१३५६ ई.	१४१६ ई.	१४७६ ई.
	१६०३ -२२३	१६६३ -२२३	१७२३ -२२३
६. मुस्ताङ् राजदरबार बनास्को वर्ष	१३८० ई.	१४४० ई.	१५०० ई.
	१६०३ -२१६	१६६३ -२१६	१७२३ -२१६
७. ज्यम्पा गुम्बा बनास्को वर्ष	१३८७ ई.	१४४७ ई.	१५०७ ई.

अब यी तीन भिन्ना भिन्ने तिथिमितिलाई ग्रीड-वन गम्पा स्वं ठिरोङ् देवनको जन्म वर्ष र पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष संग भिडार हेरौ।^४

२२० सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, मॉलम १३, नं. २ (अप्रिल १९८६)

ग्रीड-चन गम्पो (ग्रीड-बचन्-सगम्-पो) को जन्म वर्ष

तिब्बतका राजा ग्रीड-चन गम्पोको जन्म वर्ष र राज्यकाललाई लिएर विद्वान्हरूले विभिन्न तिथिमितिहरू प्रस्तुत गरेका छन्, जुन निम्न प्रकारको छ -

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| १. जुसेप टुचिका अनुसार (टुचि, १९७३, पृ. २०८) | जन्म ६२० ई.
मृत्यु ६४९ ई. |
| २. डि. स्ल. स्लेग्रीव र स्व. ई. रिचार्डसनका अनुसार (स्लेग्रीव र रिचार्डसन, १९६८, पृ. २७५) | जन्म - लगभग ६०९ ई.
मृत्यु ६४९ ई. |
| ३. राहुल सांकृत्यायनका अनुसार ^६ (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही, पृ. ५, ६) | जन्म ६१७ ई.
मृत्यु ६८८ ई. |
| ४. शरतचन्द्र दासका अनुसार (दास, १९७०, पृ. ३२) | जन्म ६००-६१७ ई. |

तिब्बती पात्रोमा ई. १९८६ भन्दा १३५६ वर्ष अघि माटो-गोर्लु वर्षमा ग्रीड-चन गम्पो जन्मेको उल्लेख छ (बोद्-लुजोङ्ग्स, १९८६, पृ. २)। यसलाई रब्-व्युङ्ग अनुसार गणना गर्दा ६२९ ई. मा माटो-गोर्लु वर्ष पर्न आउँछ, जस्तै -

सन् १९८६ आगो-वाघ वर्ष हो। आगो-वाघ वर्ष भन्दा ३७ वर्ष अघि १९४९ ई. मा माटो-गोर्लु वर्ष परेको थियो। त्यसकारण ग्रीड-चन गम्पोको जन्म १९४९ ई. भन्दा २२ रब्-व्युङ्ग अघि भएको मानेर गणना गर्दा २२ रब्-व्युङ्गको १३२० वर्ष हुने हुनाले १९४९ ई. मा त्यो १३२० वर्ष घटाउँदा ६२९ वांकी रहन्छ। यसरी ६२९ ई. मा माटो-गोर्लु वर्ष परेकोले त्यही साल ग्रीड-चन गम्पो जन्मेको देखिन्छ।^७

ठिरोङ देचन (ग्रीड-बचन्-लुदे-बचन्) को जन्म वर्ष

ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म तिथि बारे पनि विभिन्न मत पाइन्छ, जस्तै -

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| १. जुसेप टुचिका अनुसार (टुचि, त्यही, पृ. २०८) | ७५५ ई. - ७९७ ई. (?) |
| २. डि. स्ल. स्लेग्रीव र स्व. ई. रिचार्डसनका अनुसार (स्लेग्रीव र रिचार्डसन, त्यही, पृ. २७५) | ७४२ ई. |
| ३. राहुल सांकृत्यायनका अनुसार ^७ (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही, पृ. १०) - राज्यकाल ८०२-८४५ ई. | जन्म ७९० ई. |
| ४. स्ल. ए. वाडेलका अनुसार (वाडेल, १९७४, पृ. ५७५) | ७२८ ई. |
| ५. शरतचन्द्र दासका अनुसार (दास, त्यही, पृ. ३८) | ७३० ई. |

तिब्बती पात्रोमा ठिरोङ देचनलाई १६८६ ई. मन्दा १२५५ वर्ष अघि फलाम-घोडा वर्षमा जन्मेको भनिस्को छ (बौद्-लुजोङ्स, त्यही, पृ. २) । रब्-व्युङ अनुसार गणना गर्दा ७३० ई.मा फलाम-घोडा वर्ष पर्दछ, जस्तै -

१६८६ ई. मन्दा ५६ वर्ष अघि १६३० ई. मा फलाम-घोडा वर्ष परेको थियो । त्यसकारण ठिरोङ देचनलाई १६३० ई. मन्दा २० रब्-व्युङ अघि जन्मेको मानेर गणना गर्दा २० रब्-व्युङको १२०० वर्ष हुने भएकाले १६३० ई. मा १२०० वर्ष घटाउँदा ७३० वाँकी रहन्छ । यसरी ७३० ई. मा फलाम-घोडा वर्ष पर्ने भएकाले त्यही साल ठिरोङ देचन जन्मेको देखिन्छ ।

पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष

१. डि.एल.स्नेलग्रोव र स्क्.इ. रिचार्डसनका अनुसार^८ - लगभग ७७६ ई.

(स्नेलग्रोव र रिचार्डसन, त्यही, पृ. २७५)

२. एल.ए. वाडेलका अनुसार

७४७ ई.

(वाडेल, त्यही, पृ. ५७५)

तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसार १६८६ ई. मन्दा १२३६ वर्ष अघि माटो-गोरू वर्षमा पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको देखिन्छ (बौद्-लुजोङ्स, त्यही, पृ. २) । रब्-व्युङ अनुसार गणना गर्दा ७४६ ई. मा माटो-गोरू वर्ष पर्दछ, जस्तै -

१६८६ ई. मन्दा ३७ वर्ष अघि १६४९ ई. मा माटो-गोरू वर्ष परेको थियो । त्यसकारण १६४९ ई. मन्दा २० रब्-व्युङ अघि पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको मानेर गणना गर्दा २० रब्-व्युङको १२०० वर्ष हुने भएकाले १६४९ ई. मा १२०० वर्ष घटाउँदा ७४९ वाँकी रहन्छ । यसरी ७४९ ई. मा माटो-गोरू वर्ष पर्ने भएकाले त्यही साल पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको देखिन्छ ।

जुसेप टुचि, डि.एल. स्नेलग्रोव र स्क्.इ. रिचार्डसनले प्रोड्चन गम्पोको मृत्यु वर्ष वाहेक अरू तिथिमितिहरू के को आधारमा प्रस्तुत गरे त्यसको केही उल्लेख गरेको देखिस्को छैन तर एल.ए. वाडेल, शरतचन्द्र दास र राहुल सांकृत्ययनले भने आफ्नो गणनामा तिब्बती ज्योतिष परम्परालाई आधार मानेको देखिन्छ ।

यी विद्वानहरूले प्रस्तुत गरेका र तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसार गणना गर्दा आएका तिब्बतका ऐतिहासिक घटनाका तिथिमितिहरूसँग १७२३ ई., १६६३ ई. र १६०३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्षालाई समझ्न पल्लवले ज्यम्पा गुम्वा जोषाद्वारा गरेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष मानेर गणना

गदा आस्को उपरोक्त तीन थरो तिथिमितिहरू मध्ये कुन चाहिँ नजिक पर्दो रहेक भनेर मिडा-उँदा १६०३ ई. वाट गणना गदा आस्का तिथिमितिहरू ती तिथिमितिहरू भन्दा ६० वर्ष पर जान्छन्। यसैगरी १७२३ ई. वाट गणना गदा आस्का तिथिमितिहरू ६० वर्ष वर आउं-छन् तर १६६३ ई. वाट गणना गदा आस्का तिथिमितिहरू भने उपरोक्त विद्वानहरूले प्रस्तुत गरेका र तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसार गणना गदा आस्का तिथिमितिहरूसँग मिल्दछन्। अतः १६६३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्षलाई ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्यागमा उल्लेखित पानी-खरायो वर्ष मान्दा वढी विश्वासनीय र यथार्थसँग मेल खाने देखिन्छ, जसको तुलनात्मक तालिका तल प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ

	वाडेल	दास	सांकृत्यायन	तिब्बती पात्रो	१६६३ ई. वाट गणना गदा आस्को तिथि
ग्रीड-चन गम्पोको जन्म वर्ष	--	६१७ ई.	६१७ ई.	६२६ ई. ^६	६१६ ई.
ठिरोड-देचनको जन्म वर्ष	७२८ ई.	७३० ई. ^{१०}	७३० ई.	७३० ई.	७२६ ई.
पदासम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष--	७४७ ई.	---	---	७४६ ई.	७४८ ई.

अब ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्यागमा उल्लेखित पानी-खरायो वर्षलाई ई. १६६३, १७२३ र १६०३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्ष मानेर हेर्दा डेमिड णउल ज्याक्सनले तयार पारेको मुस्ताङी राजाहरूको राज्यकालको तिथिमितिसँग कुन मिति सब भन्दा नजिक र मिल्दो जुल्दो हुन आउँदो रहेछ, त्यसको विचार गरौं !

	ज्याक्सन	१६६३ ई.	१७२३ ई.	१६०३ ई.
अमपाल	राज्य १४२५ ई.	जन्म १३८७ ई. ^{११}	जन्म १४४७ ई.	जन्म १३२७ ई.
अगौसन साङ-पो	राज्य १४५० ई.	जन्म १४१६ ई.	जन्म १४७६ ई.	जन्म १३५६ ई.
टशि गोसन	मृत्यु १४७६ ई. ^{१२}	मृत्यु १५१२ ई.	मृत्यु १५७२ ई.	मृत्यु १४५२ ई.
समडुव पलवर	राज्य १६८० ई.	राज्य १६६३ ई.	राज्य १७२३ ई.	राज्य १६०३ ई.

यसरी ज्याकसनले तयार पारेको मुस्ताङ्गी राजाहरूको राज्यकालसँग पनि १६६३ ई. कै गणना विन्दु विश्वासनीय देखिन आउँछ ।

मुस्ताङ्ग राज्यसँग डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पो (डोर-केन-कुन्-दगे-ब्सङ्-पो) को घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध भएकोले यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्यागमा उल्लेखित तिथिमिति-हरूको तादात्म्य उनको समयसँग पनि हुन नितान्त आवश्यक छ । विद्वानहरूले डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोको समय यस प्रकार मानेका छन् -

१. डि.सल. स्नेलग्रोव र स्व.ड. रिचार्डसनका अनुसार — १३८२-१४४४ ई.
(स्नेलग्रोव र रिचार्डसन, उही, पृ. १७८) ।
२. जुसेप टुचिका अनुसार - डोर गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्ष - १४२८ ई.
(टुचि, उही, पृ. १८३) ।

मिसेल पिसेलले डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोको मुस्ताङ्ग प्रमण सम्बन्धी तिथिहरू निम्न अनुसार दिएका छन् (पिसेल, उही, पृ. २२८) र डेमिड पाउल ज्याकसनले पनि त्यही तिथि-लाइन सकारेका छन् (ज्याकसन, उही, पृ. १०८, २६७)^{१३} -

- पहिलो प्रमण - १४२७ ई.
- दोश्रो प्रमण - १४३६ ई.
- अन्तिम प्रमण - १४४७ ई.

जुसेप टुचिले आगो-खरायो वर्ष (१४४७ ई.) मा अगोस साङ्पोले डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोलाई मुस्ताङ्ग निम्त्याएको उल्लेख गरेका छन् (टुचि, १६५६, पृ.१६)। मुस्ताङ्गको ज्यम्पा गुम्बा अगोस साङ्पोले बनाएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा माथिनै उल्लेख भइसकेको छ । यस गुम्बाको प्रतिष्ठा डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोले गरेको विश्वास गरिन्छ । ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको भित्तामा लेखिएको करक्यागबाट पनि यो कुरा सिद्ध हुन्छ । १६६३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्षलाई समद्वय पलवारले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा जीर्णोद्धार गरेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष मानेर गणना गर्दा आएको तिथि अनुसार १४४७ ई. मा ज्यम्पा गुम्बा बनेको देखिन्छ । यसरी डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोको मुस्ताङ्ग आगमन वर्ष र ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्ष सट्टै परेकोले सायद उनी ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको प्रतिष्ठा गर्ने मुस्ताङ्ग आएका थिए भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसरी डोरकेन कुङ्गा साङ्पोको समय र उनको मुस्ताङ्ग आगमन तिथिहरूसँग पनि १६६३ ई. को गणनाबाट आएका तिथिमितिहरूको राम्रो मिलाउन भएको देखिन्छ ।

यसरी यी कुराहरूका आधारमा १६६३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्षलाई समद्वय पल-वारले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा जीर्णोद्धार गरेको पानी-खरायो वर्ष मान्दा तिब्बतका महत्त्वपूर्ण

ऐतिहासिक घटनाहरू जस्तै, ग्रीड-वन गम्पो खं ठिरोङ देवनको जन्म वर्ष र पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष; मुस्ताङी राजाहरूको राज्य वर्ष र डोर्जेन कुङगा साङपोको समय खं उनको मुस्ताङ आगमन तिथिहरूसँग यसले राम्रो दातात्म्य स्थापना गर्दछ। जुम्लाका कल्याल राजा वीरभद्र शाहले समझुव पलवरलाई गरिदिएको शाके १५८८ (१६६६ ई.) जेष्ठ २६ गतेको तामापत्रबाट पनि समझुव पलवरको समय १६६३, १६६६ ई. ताका हो भन्ने प्रष्ट हुन्छ (वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, २०३२, ऐतिहासिक सामाग्री, पृ. २२)।

मुस्ताङको इतिहासको भरपर्दो तिथिमिति निर्धारण गर्ने सिलसिलामा ईस्वीको अठारौं शताब्दीको पूर्वार्द्धमा कागवेणीमा भएको मुस्ताङ र जुम्ला बीचको युद्धको पनि चर्चा गर्न प्रासाङ्गिक हुन आउँछ। मुस्ताङको इतिहासको तिथिमिति निर्धारण गर्नुलाई कागवेणीको यस युद्ध बारे यसरी गहिरिएर विचार गरिरहन ता नपर्ने हो तापनि कागवेणीको युद्ध पछि जुम्ला र मुस्ताङले गरेको सन्धिमा समझुव पलवरको नाम परेकोले (फ्राँके, १९७२, पृ. २३०) त्यो युद्ध समझुव पलवरको पालामा ता भएको होइन भन्ने प्रश्न निवारण गर्नका लागि कागवेणी युद्धको प्रसङ्ग यहाँ सविस्तार उठाउन परेको हो ।

लद्दाख्का राजा देवयोङ नमग्याल (बुदे-सुक्पो-नीम्-ग्यल्) को विवरणमा कागवेणीको उक्त युद्ध बारे यसरी लेखिएको छ (फ्राँके, उही पृ. २३०)-

“पानी-खरायो वर्षमा लद्दाखी राजकुमारी नौरजिन वाङ-मो (नौर-जिन्-द्वङ-मो) र मुस्ताङका राजा^{१४} लद्दाख्बाट मुस्ताङ गएको बेलामा कुलठिम दोर्जे (कुल्-त्रिम्स्-दोर्जे) उनीहरूका साथमा गएका थिए। त्यसबेला मुस्ताङी राजाको एउटा अशुभ कामबाट जुम्लीहरू रिसाएकाले स्वयं मुस्ताङी राजा, रानी नौरजिन वाङ-मो र ४० जना भारदारहरू कागवेणीमा मोन (खस) हलको^{१५} बन्धनमा परे।

यसरी बूली (मुस्ताङ) मा खसको डरबाट दुःख व्याप्त भएको बेलामा कुलठिम दोर्जे तल्लो ढो (ब्रो) गएर देह्रिङ बहादुरसँग राम्ररी सम्बन्ध राखी १०० जवान घोडचढी मंगोल र ७० जवान लद्दाखीलाई मुस्ताङको सहायताको लागि जम्मा पारे। कागवेणीको किल्लामा युद्ध हुँदा किल्ला भित्रबाट खसका बलिया सैनिकहरू किल्ला बाहिर आएर नजिकैबाट पेल्लै ल्याएकोले खसको एउटा नाइकेलाई कुल ठिम दोर्जेले बाण हानेर मारे। त्यसपछि घाइते भएर घेरै खसहरू मरे।.....गु (पर्वत)^{१६} का राजाकहाँ दूत पुग्दा पर्वतबाट एक हजार पर्वते खसहरू आएर कागवेणीको किल्लालाई बलियोसँग घेरा हालेर राखे। अठार दिनसम्म रातीदिन लडेपछि जुम्लाका खस राजा कागवेणीको किल्लाबाट तल ओर्लेर मुस्ताङी राजा, रानी नौरजिन वाङ-मो र ४० जना भारदारहरूलाई बन्धन मुक्त गर्न मन्जूर गरे, अनि मुस्ताङी राजा, रानी नौरजिन वाङ-मो र चालोस जना भारदारहरूलाई मुस्ताङी पदाले आफ्नो कब्जामा लिए। त्यसपछि जुम्ली र मुस्ताङीहरूको सभा भयो। अधि वि (वीरभद्र

शाह) को क्षोरा र समदुव पलवरको पालामा बसालिस्को थितिमा रहनु पर्ने भनेर परस्पर दुवै पक्षले दृढ शपथ लेखेर कागवेणी किल्लाको कालो ढुंगाले बनेको महाकालको मूर्ति र राजा स्वयंका फलामका मालाहरू साझी राखेर सन्धि भयो।”

लद्दाखी विवरणमा उल्लेखित यस पानी-खरायो वर्षालाई ए.स्व, फ्राँकेले १७२३ ई. मानेका छन् (फ्राँके, त्यही, पृ. २३३)। रब्-व्युङ् अनुसार गणना गर्दा पनि १७२३ ई.मा पानी-खरायो वर्षा पर्दछ।

कागवेणीमा भएको जुम्ला र मुस्ताङको युद्धको विषयमा पर्वतका केही ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरूले पनि प्रकाश पारेका छन्। ती सामग्रीहरू हुन् मलैवम मल्लले प्रेमनिधि मन्तलाई लेख्न लास्को मल्लादर्श नामक पुस्तक।

मल्लादर्श नामक पुस्तकमा जुम्लाका राजाले कागवेणीमा धेरामा पारेका मुस्ताङ्गी राजालाई मलैवम मल्लले कैदवाट छुटाइदिएकाे वर्णन छ (योगी, २०२२, पृ. ५४५)। यस वर्णनमा मुस्ताङ्गी राजाको नाम र उक्त घटना घटेको तिथिमिति उल्लेख हैन तापनि माथि उल्लेखित लद्दाखी विवरणको आधारमा कागवेणीमा जुम्लाको कैदमा परेका मुस्ताङ्गी राजा फुन्-ङोग्स-गु-ग्यन्-नोर-बु हुन् र यी घटना १७२३ ई. मा घटेको हो भन्ने देखिन्छ।

यसका अतिरिक्त मलैवम मल्लको एउटा तामापत्रमा उनले थाक ठिनीबाट जुम्लाको प्रभुत्व हटाउन गरेको षाङ्गुप्यको उल्लेख छ। जुम्लाले थाक ठिनीमा दुःख दियो भनेर मलैवम मल्लले थलाहारि जैशीलाई डोटी पठाएर उससित सन्धि सम्पन्न गरी डोटीलाई जुम्लाको विरुद्धमा युद्ध गर्न लाएका थिए। सरदार लाल शाह सहित ५०० जुम्लीलाई काटेर ठिनीबाट जुम्लाको प्रभुत्व हटाउनमा थलाहारि जैशीको भूमिका थियो। त्यसैले उक्त कार्यको रिफ वापत सन्तानैलाई समेत सबै कर माफ गरेर मलैवम मल्लले शाके १६४१ माघ शुदि ७ रोज ६ मा थला-हारि जैशीलाई तामापत्र गरिदिएका थिए (श्रेष्ठ, १९७७ पृ. ७६-७७)।

मल्लादर्शको उपरोक्त वर्णन र यस तामापत्रमा उल्लेखित घटना बीच के सम्बन्ध छ भनेर शोध खोज गर्न वांकोने छ तापनि यसबाट १७१६ ई., १७२३ ई. ताका पर्वतका राजा मलैवम मल्ल डोटी र मुस्ताङलाई हात लिएर थाक ठिनो र कागवेणी भेकबाट जुम्लाको प्रभुत्व हटाउन दत्तचित्त थिए भन्ने देखिन्छ।

कागवेणीको युद्ध पछि भएको जुम्ला र मुस्ताङको सन्धिमा मुस्ताङका राजा समदुव पलवरको नाम अवश्य आएको छ तर अघि बि (वीरभद्र) को क्षोरा र समदुव पलवरको पालामा बसालिस्को थितिमा जुम्ला र मुस्ताङ दुवै पक्षले रहनुपर्ने भन्ने अर्थमा मात्र उनको नाम उक्त सन्धिमा उल्लेख भएको देखिन्छ। माथि प्रस्तुत लद्दाखी विवरणको सारांश बाटनै यो कुरा अवगत भइसकेको छ तापनि यसलाई अझ राम्ररी स्पष्ट पार्न लद्दाखी विवरण मा समदुव पल-वरको नाम परेको तिब्बती भाग र विद्वानहरूले गरेको त्यसको अनुवाद तल प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ-

मुस्ताङ दरबारमा सुनको अक्षरले लेखिएको एउटा अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ह। उक्त गन्धको गाता चाँदीको पाताले बनेको ह। त्यस गाताको दायाँ हेउमा शाक्यमुनि र बायाँ

हैउमा मणिपद्मलोकेश्वरका स-साना मूर्तिहरू अंकित हुन्। गाताको बीच भागमा उक्त ग्रन्थको शीर्षकको "गर्ग-गर-सूक्त-दु" (भारतीय भाषामा) भन्ने भाग जति चाँदीको पातामा सुनै सग्लो छुट्टाट तयार पारिएको छ। त्यसको तलपट्टि सोही चाँदीको पातामा यस प्रकारको अभिलेख अंकित छ -

(तिब्बती भाग)

[illegible]

(ॐ कल्याण सिद्ध होसु। सुवर्णप्रभा प्रज्वलित अक्षरको शरिर (भस्मी) ॥ नाम र उप्मा (दुवै) द्वारा अति सुन्दर भावतु मूर्ति (यो) ॥ रूपतेज पिता पुत्र आदि ॥ नेपालका पण्डितहरूको हातको क्षाप (कृति) हो ॥)

यस अभिलेखाट यो अष्टसहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता रूपतेज पिता पुत्र आदि नेपाली पण्डित-
हरूको कृति रहेछ भनेर थाहा पाइन्छ।

उक्त अष्टसहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिताका ग्रन्थकर्ता नेपालका पण्डित रूपतेजको विषयमा अध्ययन गर्ने क्रममा काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीहरू कैलाशका काठमाडौंको विश्व-कर्मा विहारको^{१०} ने.सं. ६३१(१५ १० ई.)को तामापत्रमा रूपतेज पाल नामक व्यक्तिको उल्लेख पाइएको छ (रेग्मो, १९६६, भाग ३ पृ. ६८)।^{११} उक्त तामापत्रमा काठमाडौं महानगर श्रीमत् मन्जुश्री नन्^{१२} विहारका शाक्य भिक्षु रूपतेजपालका श्रीमती, होरा, बुहारो र नातिहरूले अक्षोभ्यदेवावतार हेल्कका मन्दिर मा^{१३} सुनको कलश र ध्वजा आरोहण गराएको उल्लेख छ (रेग्मो त्यही, भाग ३, पृ. ६८)। यस तामापत्रमा रूपतेज पालको नामा उल्लेख छ तापनि "श्री रूपतेज पालेन भार्या, पुत्र, पौत्र सहितेन प्रतिष्ठापित" नभनेर "श्री रूपतेज पालस्य भार्या रूपा-लक्ष्मी, जेष्ठात्मज शाक्य भिक्षुजु श्री अभयज्योति पाल, भार्या पद्मययी, कनिष्ठात्मज शाक्य-भिक्षु श्री भीमपाल भारो, धर्मज्योति पाल भारो स्तेषां सहानुमतेन प्रतिष्ठापित" भनेकोले

उक्त सुवर्ण कलश र भवजा आरोहण गराउने कार्यमा रूपतेज पाल स्वयं संलग्न रहेको देखिदैन। रूपतेज पालका परिवारहरूले बडो गर्वसाथ हामी रूपतेज पालका श्रीमती, कौरा, बुहारी र नाति हौं भनेर आदर पूर्वक उनको नाम लिइयो तर त्यस्तो महान धार्मिक कार्यमा रूपतेज पाल संलग्न रहेको नदेखिएकोले सायद त्यसबेला (१५१० ई.) सम्ममा उनको मृत्यु भइसकेको हुनसक्छ।

मुस्ताङको श्रुति परम्परामा यो अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ग्रन्थ अमपालको मृत्यु पछि उनकी रानी र कौरा अगोस साङ-पोले लेखाएको भनिन्छ तर उक्त ग्रन्थको करक्याग फेला नपरेको र ग्रन्थमा कतैपनि सम्बद्ध राजाको नाम र ग्रन्थ लेखिएको तिथिमिति अंकित भएको नदेखिएकोले यो श्रुति परम्परा बारे यसै हो भन्न सकिएको छैन।

अमपालको अहिले सम्म पाइएको अन्तिम वर्ष १४४७ ई. र रूपतेजपालको अन्तिम वर्ष १५१० ई. को बीचमा ६३ वर्षको अन्तर पर्दछ।^{२१} अमपालको मृत्यु भएको कति वर्ष पछि उक्त अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता लेखियो, त्यसको कुनै निश्चित तिथिमिति थाहा पाइएको छैन त्यसैले यदि अमपालको मृत्यु भएको १।२ वर्ष भित्रै उक्त ग्रन्थ लेखिएको भए अमपाल र यी रूपतेज पालको समय अलिभक्ति फरक पर्छ^{२२} र १०।१५ वर्ष पछि लेखिएको भए समय केही वर आउने भएकोले मिल्न मिल्न आउँछ^{२३} तर यसरी तानतुन गरेर मिलाउनुको सट्टा कि ता मुस्ताङ दरबारको अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिताको ग्रन्थकर्ता रूपतेज अर्कै खोज्न पर्दछ, होइन ग्रन्थकर्ता रूपतेज ता विश्वकर्मा विहारको नै.सं. ६३१ (१५१० ई.)को तामापत्रमा उल्लेखित शाक्यमिद्वु रूपतेज पाललाईनै मान्ने हो भने अमपालको मृत्यु पछि उक्त अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता लेखिएको भन्ने श्रुति परम्परालाई शंकास्पद मानेर रूपतेज पालको मिल्दो जुल्दो समय ताका मुस्ताङमा राजा कुन थिए? ती राजाको समयमा रूपतेज पाल मुस्ताङ गएर यस्तो प्रज्ञापारमिता ग्रन्थ लेख्न सक्ने वातावरण थियो थिएन भनेर अध्ययन गर्नु उपयुक्त हुन्छ।^{२४}

धमि गुम्बाको करक्याग अनुसार अगोस साङ-पोका कौरा टशि गोसले १५१२ ई. सम्म राज्य गरेको कुरा माथिनै उल्लेख भइसकेको छ। यसबाट टशि गोस र विश्वकर्मा विहारका यी रूपतेज पाल समकालिक देखिन्छन्।

हुनत अगोस साङ-पोले पनि कग्युर, तेङ-ग्युर (बके-ग्युर, बस्तन-ग्युर) र पांच ठूला सक्थ लामा (स-सक्थ-गोङ-म-लुङ) ख्वं डोर्केन् कुङ-गा साङ-पो आदिका उपदेशलता (बके-बुम्) आदि ग्रन्थहरू सुन र चाँदीका मसिले मात्र लेखाएका थिए (चराङ-मोल्ल) तापनि उनका कौरा टशि गोसको पालामा मुस्ताङमा विद्याको ठूलो उन्नति भएको देखिन्छ।

चराङ गुम्बाको मोल्ल अनुसार टशि गोसले उण्ट्लो ड-रिकोरसुमदेखि गुरु (पर्वत) को राजधानी माथि सम्म आफ्नो अधीनमा पारेका थिए। यसैगरी उनले भारत, चीन, सबैका मानिस र धेरै किसिमका धनहरू संग्रह गरेका थिए।

टशि गोस्नले डोरमठका चौथा मठाधीश ग्यल्-ह्वस्-दम्-प-कुन्-दगे-दबद्-फ्युग् र ग्सेर-म्दोग्-चन् मठका महापण्डित शाक्य-म्होग्-ल्दन्-डि-मेद्-लेग्स्-पहि-वलो-गोस् आदि धेरै पण्डित र सिद्धहस्ताई शिर निहुराएर आदर गरेका थिए। विशेषगरी मुस्ताङ् आंस्का भारतका उत्तम भिक्षु, भिक्षु पण्डित लोकतारा आदि धेरै पण्डितहरूको टशिगोस्नले सेवा गरेका थिए। यसका साथै उनले अधि भोटमा पनि अनुवाद नभस्का धेरै धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरू मुस्ताङ्मा अनुवाद गर्ने महसुस गरेका थिए।

यसबाट टशि गोस्नको पालामा धेरै भारतीय पण्डितहरू मुस्ताङ् गस्को र अधि भोटमा पनि अनुवाद नभस्का धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरू मुस्ताङ्मा अनुवाद गरिस्को थाहा पाइन्छ।

चराङ् गुम्बाको गोल्ममा नेपाली पण्डितहरूको उल्लेख छैन तापनि त्यस भेक तर्फ पहिले देखिनै नेपाली कलाकारहरूको आवत जावत महरहने^{२५} र भारतबाट तिब्बत गस्का शान्तरक्षित, पद्मसम्भव, अतिशा दीपंकर आदि भारतीय पण्डितहरू काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको बाटो मएर तिब्बत गस्काले टशि गोस्नको पालामा मुस्ताङ् गस्का यो लोकतारा आदि भारतीय पण्डितहरू पनि काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको बाटो मएर मुस्ताङ् जानुका साथै त्यस पण्डित मण्डलीमा रूपतेज पिता पुत्र आदि नेपाली पण्डितहरू पनि संलग्न रहैको हुन सक्छ। यसरी टशि गोस्नको समयमा विश्वकर्मा विहारका यी शाक्य भिक्षु रूपतेज पालले मुस्ताङ् गएर उक्त अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता लेख्न सक्ने प्रशस्त सम्भावना छ।

यसरी १६६३ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-खरायो वर्षालाई समझुव पल्लारले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा जीर्णोद्धार गर्दाको पानी-खरायो वर्षा मानेर उक्त गुम्बाको करक्यागमा दिइस्का तिथिमितिहरूलाई गणना गर्दा मुस्ताङ्का ऐतिहासिक घटनाका माथि तालिकामा दिए अनुसारका तिथिमितिहरू निर्धारित हुन्छन्, जुन तिथिमितिहरूको इतिहासका अरू साक्ष्यहरूसँग पनि राम्ररी तादात्म्य स्थापना भस्को छ। अतः मुस्ताङ्को इतिहासको कालक्रम यहीनै ठहर हुन आउँदछ।

७७। । वदेगपेगसपुणरेकुलपदेमठमेदवसगठदसुप। मसुक्
 मेदसपल्लुरकलसुदसकससुमसुदवकुदवकुदेकल्लुददसपेद। ।
 देवेगपदेपुगसगठवेरुगुरपदेमसुदसमयिदपदुसगुलेल्लेदवे
 ससुपदेपुगसललसुदसकसठिससुददुगवकुवकुवकुदगुददस
 पेद। । गुरदेकवदगपेपदुठकमिदेरेकुमपदरेलपकेसकुल
 सुदवठेकसमपेलेसुदसकससुदददकेवदुव। । देवकुदददमपदे
 दसुदसगुलेकुमपदसुलपकुलपेलेसुदलेल्लुवठेकवठेसकसदगुवकुस
 वठे। । दसगसुमसदसकुसपेदगुदेवेलेदमसुदेसुददुवकुललुगस
 गुरेसुदसमसुरपेव। । ठेलेपकलेसुदेककेवपेसदुसगठिसपदुससं
 पवेददुलेवसकसदगुवकुवठेल्लु। । गसदवेवदगपेदेकुमलेल्लु
 ठामदपलपवदपेकुलमकेकवठेसकसठिसकुदेकदुग। । केसगु
 कुलपेकेवपेठामगेववदपेलेल्लुमसकसठिसकुदेवठे। । कुलपव
 केवपेलेल्लुवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठे
 गठेगलगावदलेदेठेदवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठेवठे
 पदेपुलकपेठेव। । लेदिसठेदलेकुदगलेदकेकुमेलेसगुलेकेसगु
 कुलपेठामगेववदपेकसदेमपदुठेवपदेगदुदवसगुलेमदेवप
 मवेवमिदेदवदपुगठामसमगुवदपलपव। । ठामकेवपदुपदे

१) वकुद

२) मिदेरेकुमपदरेलप

पादटिप्पणी

१. गुम्बाको निर्माण सम्बन्धो विवरण
२. ऐतिहासिक वृत्तान्त
३. कुनै कुनै कागज पत्रमा रब्-वुद् चक्रको संख्या र लो दुवै लेखिने हुनाले त्यसलाई अरु सम्बतमा बदल्न गाह्रो हुँदा तर यहाँ लो मात्र लेखिएकोले यसरी अरु तिथिमितिसंगको सापेक्षाताबाट यसको तिथि निर्धारण गर्न परेको हो।
४. ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्यागमा उल्लेखित शाक्यमुनिको जन्म वर्ष र सक्यपा सम्प्रदायमा कालचक्रको प्रवेश वर्षले प्रचलित मत अनुसारको तिथिमितिसंग अचम्मसित धेरै वर्षको फरक देखाउँछ, अतः कुन पद्धतिबाट के को आधारमा यस्तो गणना गरिएको हो र कसरी यसमा यस्तो फरक आयो यो कुरा पत्ता लगाउन बाँकीने भएकोले यस लेखमा यी दुइ घटनाको तिथिलाई चर्चा गरिएको छैन।
५. अहिले आएर प्रोड-चन गम्पोको जन्म ५६६ ई. मा र मृत्यु ८२ वर्षको उमेरमा ६५० ई. मा भएको थाहा पाइएको छ। यसैगरी प्रोड-चन गम्पो २१ वर्षको हुँदा ५८६ ई. मा भृकुटीसंग उनको विवाह भएको देखिएको छ। यसवारे कुट्टे निबन्धमा चर्चा गरिने छ।
६. राहुल सांकृत्यायनले प्रोड-चन गम्पोलाई ८२ वर्षको उमेर (६८८ ई.) मा मृत्यु भएको मानेका छन् (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही, पृ. ६) तर ६१७ ई.मा जन्मेको मान्ने ८२ वर्षको उमेरमा मरेतापनि ६८८ ई.मा नभई ६६६ ई.मा मर्नुपर्ने हो। पुनश्चः प्रोड-चन गम्पोको समाधि ६५० ई.मा बनेको मानिएको छ (दुचि, त्यही, पृ. २०८)। ठुलु स्नाल्सबाट पनि यही समयमा प्रोड-चन गम्पोको मृत्यु भएको देखिन्छ (रौरिक, १९७६, पृ. ४६)। अतः यी कुराहरूको आधारमा राहुल सांकृत्यायनले दिएको प्रोड-चन गम्पोको मृत्यु वर्ष (६८८ ई.) अमिल्दो देखिन्छ।
७. दुचि र स्लेग्राव स्वं रिचार्डसनले के को आधारमा ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म स्वं राज्य वर्ष तोके त्यसको श्रोत थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन तर राहुल सांकृत्यायनले भने ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म वर्षलाई एक रब्-वुद् वर ल्याएको देखिन्छ। सायद भारतको ओडन्त-पुरी विहार र तिब्बतको साम्चे (बस्म-यस्) गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्षको आधारमा उनले

ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म वर्षलाई एक रब्-व्युङ् वर ल्याएको हुन सक्छ। राहुल सांकृत्यायनले ८२३ ई. मा साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको मानेका छन् (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही पृ. १४)। पालवंशी राजा धर्मपालको राज्यकालको आधारमा उनले यो मिति निर्धारण गरेको देखिन्छ। किनभने तिब्बतको साम्ये गुम्बा भारतको ओडन्तपुरी बिहारको नमूना अनुसार बनाएको र राहुल सांकृत्यायनले ओडन्तपुरी विहार धर्मपालले बनाएको मान्नुका साथै ७६६ ई. देखि ८०६ ई. सम्म उनको राज्यकाल सकारेका छन् (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही, पृ. १४)। यसरी धर्मपालको यस राज्यकालसँगको सापेक्षाताबाट राहुल सांकृत्यायनले साम्ये गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्षलाई धेरै वर ल्याएको देखिन्छ तर दिनेशचन्द्र मट्टचार्यले धर्मपालको राज्यकाल ७४४ ई. - ८०० ई. मानेकोले (सांकृत्यायन, त्यही, पृ. १४) यसबाट राहुल सांकृत्यायनले सकारेको धर्मपालको राज्यकालको खण्डन हुन्छ, यसका साथै तारानाथका अनुसार ओडन्तपुरी विहार धर्मपालले बनाएको नभई उनका बाबु गोपाल अथवा देवपालको समयमा बनेको हुनाले (लामा, १६७१, पृ. ११०-१११) धर्मपालले ओडन्तपुरी विहार बनाएको भन्ने राहुल सांकृत्यायनको विचार पनि मिलेन। अर्को कुरा राहुल सांकृत्यायनले साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको वर्ष पानी-खरायो (७६३ ई.) हुनुपर्नेमा गल्लीले आगो-खरायो वर्ष लेखेको भनेका छन् तर साम्ये गुम्बा बनाउन थालेको वर्ष भने उनले ७६३ ई. भन्दा एक रब्-व्युङ् पछि ८२३ ई. मानेका छन्। तिब्बती पात्रोमा १६८६ ई. भन्दा १२३४ वर्ष पहिले फलाम-खरायो वर्षमा साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको उल्लेख छ (बोद्-तुजोङ्स, त्यही, पृ. २)। त्यसलाई रब्-व्युङ् अनुसार गणना गर्दा (७५१ ई.) आउँछ। यसरी तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसार साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको वर्ष (७५१ ई.) र राहुल सांकृत्यायनले सकारेको साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको वर्ष (८२३ ई.) को बीच ७२ वर्षको अन्तर पर्न आयो। राहुल सांकृत्यायनले पानी-खरायो वर्षमा साम्ये गुम्बा बनाएको मानेका छन् तर तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसार फलाम-खरायो वर्षमा साम्ये गुम्बा बनेको देखिन्छ। पानी-खरायो वर्ष चाहिँ फलाम-खरायो वर्ष भन्दा ठीक १२ वर्ष पछि आउँछ। त्यसैले राहुलको गणना तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसारको गणनासँग १२ वर्ष फरक परेको र उनले साम्ये गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्षलाई एक रब्-व्युङ् अथवा ६० वर्ष वर ल्याएकोले तिब्बती पात्रोको गणनाबाट आएको मिति (७५१ ई.) र उनले प्रस्तुत गरेको मिति (८२३ ई.) मा ७२ वर्षको अन्तर आएको हो तर राहुल सांकृत्यायनले भने जस्तरी साम्ये गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्षलाई एक रब्-व्युङ् वर ल्याउन नपर्ने भए पछि एक रब्-व्युङ्को ६० वर्ष र फलाम-खरायो वर्ष स्व पानी-खरायो वर्ष बीचको अन्तर १२ वर्ष गरी सो ७२ वर्षलाई ८२३ ई. मा घटाउँदा तिब्बती पात्रोको गणना अनुसारको मिति (७५१ ई.) सँग मिल्न आउँछ।

यसरी राहुल सांकृत्यायनले धर्मपालको राज्यकाल र साम्ये गुम्बाको निर्माण वर्षको आधारमा ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म वर्षलाई एक रब्-व्युङ् वर ल्याएको तर उनले

सकारेको तिथिमितिहरू नभिलेकोले उनको विचार अनुसार ठिरोङ देचनको जन्म वर्ष एक रब्-व्युङ् वर ल्याउन नपर्ने हुँदा ७६० मा एक रब्-व्युङ् अथवा ६० वर्ष घटाए पछि ७३० ई. मा ठिरोङ देचन जन्मेको देखिन्छ।

८. जुसेप टुचि, राहुल सांकृत्यायन र शरतचन्द्र दासले पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष उल्लेख गरेको देखिस्को छैन। डि.एल. स्नेलग्रोव र एब. ई. रिचार्डसनले प्रस्तुत गरेको पद्मसम्भव तिब्बत पुगेको वर्ष (७७६ ई.) पनि तिब्बती पात्रो अनुसारको गणनासँग मिल्दैन।

९. एल.ए. वाडेलले ग्रोङ-चन गम्पोको जन्म वर्ष नदिएको कुरा माथिनै उल्लेख भइसकेको छ। शरतचन्द्र दासका अनुसार तिब्बतो इतिहासकारहरूले ग्रोङ-चन गम्पोको इदमित्थ जन्म मिति दिन सकेका छैनन् तर उनोहरूले दिएका ग्रोङ-चन गम्पोको जन्म मिति ६०० ई. देखि ६१७ ई. भित्र पर्दछन् (दास, उही, पृ. ३२)। व्हाइट स्नात्समा पनि आगो-गोर्लु वर्ष (६१७ ई.) मा ग्रोङ-चन गम्पो जन्मेको उल्लेख छ (क्योर फेल, १९७८, पृ. १३)। ज्यम्पा गुम्बाको करक्यागबाट पनि ग्रोङ-चन गम्पोको जन्म ६१६ ई. मा भएको देखियो। यो तिथिको (६१६ ई.) तिब्बतो पात्रो अनुसारको तिथि (६२६ ई.) सँग १३ वर्षको फरक देखिस्तापनि ग्रोङ-चन गम्पोको जन्म ६२६ई.मानभई ६१६-६१७ ई. मा भएको कुरा वढी विश्वासनीय देखिन्छ।

१०. राहुल सांकृत्यायनले दिएको तिथिलाई संशोधन गरेर गणना गर्दा आएको तिथि।

११. मिसेल पिसेलले पनि अमपालको समय १३८० ई. देखि १४५० ई. सम्म मानेका छन् (पिसेल, १९६८, पृ. २२८)।

१२. डेमिड पाउल ज्याक्सनले टशि गोस्नको मृत्यु १४७६ ई. मा भएको मानेका छन् तर वास्तवमा टशि गोस्नले १५१२ ई. सम्म राज्य गरेको देखिन्छ। घमि गुम्बाको करक्याग अनुसार उक्त गुम्बा राजा टशि गोस्न र लामा नम्ख पात्सेन (नम्-मुख-दपलु-लुदन्) ले पानी-बांदर वर्षमा बनाएको देखिन्छ। रब्-व्युङ् अनुसार गणना गर्दा १४५२ ई. र त्यसको ६० वर्ष पछि १५१२ ई. मा पानी-बांदर वर्ष पर्दछ। १४५२ ई. चाहिँ अगोस्न साङ-पोको राज्यकाल भित्रपर्ने भएकोले टशि गोस्नले घमि गुम्बा बनाएको पानी-बांदर वर्ष १४५२ ई. को नभएर पक्कै पनि १५१२ ई. मा पर्ने पानी-बांदर वर्ष हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने देखिन्छ।

१३. उपरोक्त विद्वानहरूले मुस्ताङ-मा ङोर्केन कुङ-गा साङ-पोको तीन पटक आगमन भएको

मानेका क्नु तर चराङ्ग गुम्बाको च्याहिंग (बच्-यिग्) र बैम क्स्याग (बैम्स-क्स्या) मा डोर्केन् कुङ्गा साङ्पोलाई पांच पटक सम्म मुस्ताङ्ग निम्त्यास्को उल्लेख ह। यस्को तिथिमिति भने उक्त श्रोतबाट थाहा पाउन सकिस्को हैन।

१४. ज्याकसनले फुन्-क्लोग्-बुग्-ग्यन्-नोर-बुलाई नौरजिन वाङ-मोका पति मानेका क्नु (ज्याकसन, १९७८, पृ. २२२)। घमि गुम्बाको कर-क्स्याग् अनुसार राजा तेन्जिङ-वाङ-ग्याल (ब्सुतन्-जिन्-द्वङ्-ग्यस्) ले काठ-बाघ वर्ण (१७३४ ई.) मा घमि दरबार स्वं मणि खोर्लो बनाउन लगास्को र रानी नौरजिन वाङ-मोले घमि दरबारको सेर खाङ्ग (सुवर्ण मूर्ति कक्ष) मा रहेका धातुका धेरै मूर्तिहरू बनाउन लगास्को देखिन्छ। यसरी चराङ्ग दरबारको मणि खोर्लोको करक्स्यागमा तेन्जिङ-वाङ-ग्यालले काठ-बाघ वर्ण (१७३४ ई.) भित्र उक्त मणि खोर्लो बनास्को उल्लेख ह।

१५. तिब्बती शब्द कोशमा मोन शब्दलाई किरात र हिमालयको काठमा रहने जाति भनेर अर्थ गरिस्को ह (दास, १९७६, पृ. ६७६)। थकालीहरूले आफु मन्दा दक्षिण तिर वसोवास गर्ने जातिलाई मोन मन्दक्नु। (भिन्डिङ र गौचन, १९७७, पृ. १००)। गुरुङ-हरूले चाहिं खस, बाहुनलाई म्है, प्छु र नेणाली भाषालाई म्हों क्युङ्ग अथवा प्छु क्युङ्ग मन्दक्नु। गुरुङ भाषाको यो म्है अथवा म्हों शब्द तिब्बती भाषाको मोन र प्छु चाहिं तिब्बती गुको अपभ्रंश रूप हो। नेणाली भाषालाई आजमोलि पनि गाउँ घर तिर खस कुरा भनिन्छ। अतः गुरुङ भाषाको म्हों शब्दको अर्थको आधारमा यहाँ मोन शब्दलाई खस भनेर अर्थ गरिस्को हो।

१६. डेविड पाउल ज्याकसनले द्रु (गु) लाई पर्वत राज्य मानेका क्नु (ज्याकसन, उही, पृ. ३१२) पर्वतलाई तिब्बती भाषामा किन द्रु मन्थो भनेर द्रु शब्दको अर्थ कोट्याउँदै जाँदा तिब्बती भाषामा कुङ्गा अथवा पोतलाई द्रु र पोतलक अथवा पोतललाई द्रु-जिन् भनेको पाइयो (दास, १९७६, पृ. २४५-४६)। अवलोकितेश्वरको निवास स्थान भएको पर्वत र ल्हासामा दलाई लामाको निवास स्थान भएको पर्वतलाई पोतल भनिन्छ। सायद पोतल, पर्वत यही पर्यायबाट पर्वत राज्यलाई तिब्बती भाषामा द्रु-जिन् भनेको र कालान्तरमा द्रु मात्र भएको हुन सक्छ, जसरी पुरानो यम्बु (काठमाडौं) शब्दलाई आज-कल यं मात्र भनिन्छ।

१७. यो विचार काठमाडौंको उं बहाल टोलमा पर्दछ। यस्को संस्कृत नाम मन्जुश्री नक महाविहार र प्रचलित नाम चाहिं विश्वकर्मा महाविहार हो। नेवारी भाषामा यस विहारलाई विक्रमा बहा भनिन्छ।

१८. काठमाडौंको मीमनमी (मीमननी) वहालको नै.सं. ६१६ (१४६५ ई.)को तामापत्र र नकवहिलको नै.सं. ६४६ (१५२८ ई.)को तामापत्रमा पनि रूपसिंह पालको उल्लेख आएको छ (रेग्मी, त्यही, भाग ३, पृ. ६२ र भाग ४, पृ. २) । यी रूपसिंह पाल र रूपतेज पाल एउटै व्यक्ति हो कि होइन? यस विषयमा ह्यानविनगर्न वांकीने छ। यदि यी दुई रूपसिंह पाल र रूपतेज पाल एउटै व्यक्ति ठहरिस्तापनि यिनीहरू एकैसमयका हुनाले यसबाट अहिले यस लेखमा निर्धारण गर्न खोजिएको मुस्ताङको ऐतिहासिक कालक्रममा विशेष अन्तर आउँदैन।
१९. यसको शुद्ध पाठ मूल्याङ्कन मिडार इतिहासकार श्री धनवज्र वज्राचार्यज्यूले पढ्नु भएको हो।
२०. यस विहारको गर्भ गृहमा अद्याव्य बुद्ध र आगममा हेल्क स्थापना गरिएको छ।
२१. १४४० ई. मा अमपालले मुस्ताङ दरबार बनाएकोले त्यसबेला उनले शासन चलाइरहेको र १४४७ ई. मा उनका छोरा अगोस साङ्गले ज्यम्पा गुम्बा बनाएकोले त्यसबेला सम्म अमपालको मृत्यु भई अगोस साङ्गले राजा भइसकेको देखिन्छ।
२२. रूपतेजले उक्त अष्टसहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता ग्रन्थ तयार पार्दा उनलाई उनका छोराको साथ दिइएको थियो। अतः त्यसबेला उनका छोरा समर्थवान् स्वं कम्तिमा पनि २५ वर्षको हुनुपर्दछ। रूपतेज २० वर्षको हुँदा उनको छोरा जन्मेको भन्नेतापनि छोरा २५ वर्ष पुग्दा उनी ४५ वर्षका हुन्छन्। यसरी १४४७ ई. मा ४५ वर्ष पुगेका रूपतेज १५१० ई. सम्म बाँचेका भए त्यसबेला उनी १०८ वर्षका हुन्थे। १५१० ई. सम्म रूपतेजका श्रीमती जीवित भएकीले उनी आफूना पति भन्दा ५ वर्ष कान्छी भन्नेतापनि माथिको हिसाव अनुसार १५१० ई. मा उनी १०३ वर्षकी हुन्छन्, जुन कुराहरू प्रायः असम्भव देखिन्छन्।
२३. अमपाल १३८७ ई. मा जन्मेकाले १४४७ ई. मा मृत्यु हुँदा उनी ६० वर्षका देखिन्छन्। अमपालकी रानी पनि उही उमेरको हुन सक्छ। अतः अर्को २५।३० वर्ष सम्म बाँच्न सक्ने उनको उमेर छ। त्यसैले अमपालको मृत्यु भएको १०।१५ वर्ष पछि पनि उक्त ग्रन्थ लेखिन नसक्ने होइन।
२४. अमपालको मृत्यु समयलाई १४४७ ई. भन्दा ६० वर्ष वर तयायो भने १५०७ ई. मा अमपाल मरेको हुने हुनाले उनको समय रूपतेज पालको समय (१५१० ई.)सँग दूवोम्म मिल्ने थियो तर मुस्ताङको उपरोक्त कालक्रम भोट, नेपाल र लद्दाख सबैतिरको कालक्रमसँग राम्ररी मेल खाने देखिसकेकोले त्यस कालक्रमलाई बिगारेर अमपालको मृत्यु समयलाई ६० वर्ष वर तयाउनु इतिहास सम्मत हुँदैन।

२५. ईस्वी सधारौ शताब्दीमा खोर-रैले स्थापना गरेको खोजरनाथ गुम्बामा रहेका मन्जुश्री, पद्मपाणी र वज्रपाणीका चाँदीका मूर्तिहरू नेपाली कलाकार अश्वधर्म र काश्मिरी वङ्गकुले बनाएका थिए (टुचि, १९५६, पृ. ६१-६२)। तेईश शताब्दी ताका ललितपुरका विजितसिंह नामक कलाकारले डोल्पाको निहसल नामक स्थानमा रहेको शाक्य धुवा गुम्बामा गरर धेरै धातुका मूर्तिहरू बनाएका थिए (शाक्य, वि.सं. २०२१ पृ. ६३)। यसैगरी मुस्ताङको ज्यम्पा गुम्बामा रहेको वज्रधातुमण्डलको भित्ति चित्र देवानन्द (ल्ह-दग्) नामक नेपाली (बल्-पौ) कलाकारको कृति हो भन्ने थाहा पाइएको छ।

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(ज्ञातव्य: यस लेखमा प्रस्तुत गरिएका तिब्बती हरफहरू श्री वाङ्गदी लामाले लेखिदिनुभएको हो -- लेखक)

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